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The  
**Memoirs of Bābur**

A New Translation of the Bābur-nāma, incorporating  
Leyden and Erskine's of 1826 A.D.

BY

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Fasciculus I. Farghāna

„ II. Kābul

„ III. Hindūstān

*To follow :*

„ IV. Preface, Index, Maps, etc.

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# THE MEMOIRS OF BABUR

## SECTION III. HINDŪSTĀN

932 AH.—OCT. 18TH 1525 TO OCT. 8TH 1526 AD.<sup>1</sup>

(a. *Fifth expedition into Hindūstān.*)

(*Nov. 17th*) On Friday the 1st of the month of Šafar at the date 932, the Sun being in the Sign of the Archer, we set out for Hindūstān, crossed the small rise of Yak-langa, and dismounted in the meadow to the west of the water of Dih-i-ya'qūb.<sup>2</sup> 'Abdu'l-malūk the armourer came into this camp; he had gone seven or eight months earlier as my envoy to Sulṭān Sa'īd Khān (in Kāshghar), and now brought one of the Khān's men, styled Yāngī Beg (new beg) Kūkūldāsh who conveyed letters, and

Haidarā-  
bād MS.  
Fol. 251*b*.

<sup>1</sup> Elph. MS. f. 205*b*; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 199*b* omits the year's events on the ground that Shaikh Zam has translated them; I.O. 217 f. 174; Mem. p. 290; Kehr's Codex p. 1084.

A considerable amount of reliable textual material for revising the Hindūstān section of the English translation of the *Bābur-nāma* is wanting through loss of pages from the Elphinstone Codex; in one instance no less than an equivalent of 36 folios of the Haidarābād Codex are missing (f. 356 *et seq.*), but to set against this loss there is the valuable *per contra* that Kehr's manuscript throughout the section becomes of substantial value, losing its Persified character and approximating closely to the true text of the Elphinstone and Haidarābād Codices. Collateral help in revision is given by the works specified (*in loco* p. 428) as serving to fill the gap existing in Bābur's narrative previous to 932 AH. and this notably by those described by Elliot and Dowson. Of these last, special help in supplementary details is given for 932 AH. and part of 933 AH. by Shaikh Zain [*Aḥawāfi*]'s *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī*, which is a highly rhetorical paraphrase of Bābur's narrative, requiring familiarity with ornate Persian to understand. For all my references to it, I am indebted to my husband. It may be mentioned as an interesting circumstance that the B.M. possesses in Or. 1999 a copy of this work which was transcribed in 998 AH. by one of Khwānd-amir's grandsons and, judging from its date, presumably for Abū'l-fazl's use in the *Akbar-nāma*.

Like part of the Kābul section, the Hindūstān one is in diary-form, but it is still more heavily surcharged with matter entered at a date later than the diary. It departs from the style of the preceding diary by an occasional lapse into courtly phrase and by exchange of some Turkī words for Arabic and Persian ones, doubtless found current in Hind, e.g. *fauj*, *dīra*, *manzil*, *khail-khāna*.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Logar affluent of the Barān-water (Kābul-river). Masson describes this haltingplace (ii, 174).

small presents, and verbal messages <sup>1</sup> from the Khānims and the Khān.<sup>2</sup>

(*Nov. 18th to 21st*) After staying two days in that camp for the convenience of the army,<sup>3</sup> we marched on, halted one night,<sup>4</sup> and next dismounted at Bādām-chashma. There we ate a confection (*ma'jūn*).

(*Nov. 22nd*) On Wednesday (Şafar 6th), when we had dismounted at Bārik-āb, the younger brethren of Nūr Beg—he himself remaining in Hindūstān—brought gold *ashrafīs* and *tankas*<sup>5</sup> to the value of 20,000 *shāhrukhīs*, sent from the Lāhor revenues by Khwāja Ḥusain. The greater part of these moneys was despatched by Mullā Aḥmad, one of the chief men of Balkh, for the benefit of Balkh.<sup>6</sup>

Fol. 252. (*Nov. 24th*) On Friday the 8th of the month (Şafar), after dismounting at Gandamak, I had a violent discharge;<sup>7</sup> by God's mercy, it passed off easily.

<sup>1</sup> *muḥaqqar saughāt u bilāk* or *tilāk*. A small verbal point arises about *bilāk* (or *tilāk*). *Bilāk* is said by Quatremère to mean a gift (N. et E. xiv, 119 n.) but here *muḥaqqar saughāt* expresses gift. Another meaning can be assigned to *bilāk* here, [one had also by *tilāk*,] viz. that of word-of-mouth news or communication, sometimes supplementing written communication, possibly secret instructions, possibly small domestic details. In *bilāk*, a gift, the root may be *bil*, the act of knowing, in *tilāk* it is *til*, the act of speaking [whence *til*, the tongue, and *til tūtmāk*, to get news]. In the sentence noted, either word would suit for a verbal communication. Returning to *bilāk* as a gift, it may express the nuance of English *token*, the maker-known of friendship, affection and so-on. This differentiates *bilāk* from *saughāt*, used in its frequent sense of ceremonial and diplomatic presents of value and importance.

<sup>2</sup> With Sa'īd at this time were two Khānims Sultān-nigār and Daulat-sultān who were Bābur's maternal-aunts. Erskine suggested Khūb-nigār, but she had died in 907 AH. (f. 96).

<sup>3</sup> Humāyūn's non-arrival would be the main cause of delay. Apparently he should have joined before the Kābul force left that town.

<sup>4</sup> The halt would be at Būt-khāk, the last station before the Adīnapūr road takes to the hills.

<sup>5</sup> Discussing the value of coins mentioned by Bābur, Erskine says in his *History of India* (vol. i, Appendix E.) which was published in 1854 AD. that he had come to think his estimates of the value of the coins was set too low in the *Memoirs* (published in 1826 AD.). This sum of 20,000 *shāhrukhīs* he put at £1000. Cf. E. Thomas' *Pathan Kings of Dihli and Resources of the Mughal Empire*.

<sup>6</sup> One of Masson's interesting details seems to fit the next stage of Bābur's march (iii, 179). It is that after leaving Būt-khāk, the road passes what in the thirties of the 19th Century, was locally known as Bābur Pādshāh's Stone-heap (cairn) and believed piled in obedience to Bābur's order that each man in his army should drop a stone on it in passing. No time for raising such a monument could be fitter than that of the fifth expedition into Hindūstān when a climax of opportunity allowed hope of success.

<sup>7</sup> *rezāndalīk*. This Erskine translates, both here and on ff. 253, 254, by *defluxion*, but de Courteille by *rhume de cerveau*. Shaikh Zain supports de Courteille by writing, not *rezāndalīk*, but *musla*, catarrh. De Courteille, in illustration of his

(*Nov. 25th*) On Saturday we dismounted in the Bāgh-i-wafā. We delayed there a few days, waiting for Humāyūn and the army from that side.<sup>1</sup> More than once in this history the bounds and extent, charm and delight of that garden have been described; it is most beautifully placed; who sees it with the buyer's eye will know the sort of place it is. During the short time we were there, most people drank on drinking-days<sup>2</sup> and took their morning; on non-drinking days there were parties for *ma'jūn*.

I wrote harsh letters to Humāyūn, lecturing him severely because of his long delay beyond the time fixed for him to join me.<sup>3</sup>

(*Dec. 3rd*) On Sunday the 17th of Şafar, after the morning had been taken, Humāyūn arrived. I spoke very severely to him at once. Khwāja Kalān also arrived to-day, coming up from Ghaznī. We marched in the evening of that same Sunday, and dismounted in a new garden between Sulţānpur and Khwāja Rustam.

(*Dec. 6th*) Marching on Wednesday (Şafar 20th), we got on a raft, and, drinking as we went reached Qūsh-gumbaz,<sup>4</sup> there landed and joined the camp.

reading of the word, quotes Burnes' account of an affection common in the Panj-āb and there called *nuzla*, which is a running at the nostrils, that wastes the brain and stamina of the body and ends fatally (*Travels in Bukhara* ed. 1839, ii, 41).

<sup>1</sup> Tramontana, north of Hindū-kush.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Zain says that the drinking days were Saturday, Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday.

<sup>3</sup> The Elph. Codex (f. 208b) contains the following note of Humāyūn's about his delay; it has been expunged from the text but is still fairly legible:—"The time fixed was after 'Ashūrā (10th Muḥarram, a voluntary fast); although we arrived after the next-following 10th ('*ashūr*', i.e. of Şafar), the delay had been necessary. The purpose of the letters (Bābur's) was to get information; (in reply) it was represented that the equipment of the army of Badakhshān caused delay. If this slave (Humāyūn), trusting to his [father's] kindness, caused further delay, he has been sorry."

Bābur's march from the Bāgh-i-wafā was delayed about a month; Humāyūn started late from Badakhshān; his force may have needed some stay in Kābul for completion of equipment; his personal share of blame for which he counted on his father's forgiveness, is likely to have been connected with his mother's presence in Kābul.

Humāyūn's note is quoted in Turkī by one MS. of the Persian text (B. M. W. -i-B. 16,623 f. 128); and from certain indications in Muḥammad *Shīrāzī*'s lithograph (p. 163), appears to be in his archetype the Udaipur Codex; but it is not with all MSS. of the Persian text e.g. not with I. O. 217 and 218. A portion of it is in Kehr's MS. (p. 1086).

<sup>4</sup> Bird's-dome [f. 145b, n.] or The pair (*qūsh*) of domes.



(*Dec. 7th*) Starting off the camp at dawn, we ourselves went on a raft, and there ate confection (*ma'jūn*). Our encamping-ground was always Qīrīq-ārīq, but not a sign or trace of the camp could be seen when we got opposite it, nor any appearance of our horses. Thought I, "Garm-chashma (Hot-spring) is close by; they may have dismounted there." So saying, we went on from Qīrīq-ārīq. By the time we reached Garm-chashma, the very day was late;<sup>1</sup> we did not stop there, but going on in its lateness (*kīchīsī*), had the raft tied up somewhere, and slept awhile.

(*Dec. 8th*) At day-break we landed at Yada-bīr where, as the day wore on, the army-folks began to come in. The camp must have been at Qīrīq-ārīq, but out of our sight.

There were several verse-makers on the raft, such as Shaikh Abū'l-wajid,<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Zain, Mullā 'Alī-jān, Tardī Beg *Khāksār* and others. In this company was quoted the following couplet of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ :—<sup>3</sup>

(Persian) With thee, arch coquette, for a sweetheart, what can man do?  
With another than thou where thou art, what can man do?

Said I, "Compose on these lines";<sup>4</sup> whereupon those given to versifying, did so. As jokes were always being made at the expense of Mullā 'Alī-jān, this couplet came off-hand into my head :—

(Persian) With one all bewildered as thou, what can man do?  
. . . . . , what can man do?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *gūn khūd kīch būlūb aīdī*; a little joke perhaps at the lateness both of the day and the army.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Zain's maternal-uncle.

<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Zain's useful detail that this man's pen-name was Sharaf distinguishes him from Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the author of the *Shaibānī-nāma*.

<sup>4</sup> *goshā*, angle (*cf. goshā-i-kār*, limits of work). Parodies were to be made, having the same metre, rhyme, and refrain as the model couplet.

<sup>5</sup> I am unable to attach sense to Bābur's second line; what is wanted is an illustration of two incompatible things. Bābur's reflections [*infra*] condemned his verse. Shaikh Zain describes the whole episode of the verse-making on the raft, and goes on with, "He (Bābur) excised this choice couplet from the pages of his Acts (*Wāqi'āt*) with the knife of censure, and scratched it out from the tablets of his noble heart with the finger-nails of repentance. I shall now give an account of this spiritual matter" (*i.e.* the repentance), "by presenting the recantations of his Solomon-like Majesty in his very own words, which are weightier than any from the lips of Aesop." Shaikh Zain next quotes the Turki passage here translated in *ḡ. Mention of the Mubīn*.

*(b. Mention of the Mubīn.<sup>1</sup>)*

From time to time before it,<sup>2</sup> whatever came into my head, of good or bad, grave or jest, used to be strung into verse and written down, however empty and harsh the verse might be, but while I was composing the *Mubīn*, this thought pierced through my dull wits and made way into my troubled heart, "A pity it will be if the tongue which has treasure of utterances so lofty as these are, waste itself again on low words; sad will it be if again vile imaginings find way into the mind that has made exposition of these sublime realities."<sup>3</sup> Since that time I had refrained from satirical and jesting verse; I was repentant (*ta'īb*); but these matters were totally out of mind and remembrance when I made that couplet (on Mullā 'Alī-jān).<sup>4</sup> A few days later in Bigrām when I had fever and discharge, followed by cough, and I began to spit blood each time I coughed, I knew whence my reproof came; I knew what act of mine had brought this affliction on me.

Fol. 253.

"Whoever shall violate his oath, will violate it to the hurt of his own soul; but whoever shall perform that which he hath covenanted with God, to that man surely will He give great reward" (*Qorān* cap. 48 v. 10).

(*Turkī*) What is it I do with thee, ah! my tongue?  
 My entrails bleed as a reckoning for thee.  
 Good once<sup>5</sup> as thy words were, has followed this verse  
 Jestings, empty,<sup>6</sup> obscene, has followed a lie.  
 If thou say, "Burn will I not!" by keeping this vow  
 Thou turnest thy rein from this field of strife.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Mubīn* (*q.v.* Index) is mentioned again and quoted on f. 351*b*. In both places its name escaped the notice of Erskine and de Courteille, who here took it for *mīn*, I, and on f. 351*b* omitted it, matters of which the obvious cause is that both translators were less familiar with the poem than it is now easy to be. There is ample textual warrant for reading *Mubīn* in both the places indicated above; its reinstatement gives to the English and French translations what they have needed, namely, the clinch of a definite stimulus and date of repentance, which was the influence of the *Mubīn* in 928 AH. (1521-2 AD.). The whole passage about the peccant verse and its fruit of contrition should be read with others that express the same regret for broken law and may all have been added to the diary at the same time, probably in 935 AH. (1529 AD.). They will be found grouped in the Index s.z. Bābur.

<sup>2</sup> *mūndān būrān*, by which I understand, as the grammatical construction will warrant, before writing the *Mubīn*. To read the words as referring to the peccant verse, is to take the clinch off the whole passage.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* of the *Qorān* on which the *Mubīn* is based.

<sup>4</sup> Dropping down-stream, with wine and good company, he entirely forgot his good resolutions.

<sup>5</sup> This appears to refer to the good thoughts embodied in the *Mubīn*.

<sup>6</sup> This appears to contrast with the "sublime realities" of the *Qorān*.

<sup>7</sup> In view of the interest of the passage, and because this verse is not in the *Rāmpūr Dīwān*, as are many contained in the *Hindūstān* section, the *Turkī* original is

“O Lord! we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; if Thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we shall surely be of those that perish”<sup>1</sup> (*Qorān* cap. 7 v. 22).

Taking anew the place of the penitent pleading for pardon, I gave my mind rest<sup>2</sup> from such empty thinking and such unlawful occupation. I broke my pen. Made by that Court, such reproof of sinful slaves is for their felicity; happy are the highest and the slave when such reproof brings warning and its profitable fruit.

(*c. Narrative resumed.*)

(*Dec. 8th continued*) Marching on that evening, we dismounted at ‘Alī-masjid. The ground here being very confined, I always used to dismount on a rise overlooking the camp in the valley-bottom.<sup>3</sup> The camp-fires made a wonderful illumination there at night; assuredly it was because of this that there had always been drinking there, and was so now.

(*Dec. 9th and 10th*) To-day I rode out before dawn; I preferred a confection (*ma’jūn*)<sup>4</sup> and also kept this day a fast. We dismounted near Biḡrām (Peshāwar); and next morning, the camp remaining on that same ground, rode to Karg-awī.<sup>5</sup> We crossed the Siyāh-āb in front of Biḡrām, and formed our hunting-circle looking down-stream. After a little, a person brought

quoted. My translation differs from those of Mr. Erskine and M. de Courteille; all three are tentative of a somewhat difficult verse.

*Nī qīlā mīn sinīng bīla āi īl?  
Jīhātīng ān mīnīng āichīm gān dūr.  
Nīcha yakhsū āsāng bū hazl āla shī‘r  
Bīrī-sī fakash ū bīrī yālgān dūr.  
Gar āsāng kūimā mīn, bū jazm bīla  
Jalāwīngnī bū ‘arṣa ān yān dūr.*

<sup>1</sup> The *Qorān* puts these sayings into the mouths of Adam and Eve.

<sup>2</sup> Hai. MS. *īndūrūb*; Ilminsky, p. 327, *yāndūrūb*; W.-i-B. I.O. 217, f. 175, *sard sākhā*.

<sup>3</sup> Of ‘Alī-masjid the *Second Afghān War* (official account) has a picture which might be taken from Bābur’s camp.

<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Zain’s list of the drinking-days (f. 252 note) explains why sometimes Bābur says he preferred *ma’jūn*. In the instances I have noticed, he does this on a drinking-day; the preference will be therefore for a confection over wine. December 9th was a Saturday and drinking-day; on it he mentions the preference; Tuesday Nov. 21st was a drinking day, and he states that he ate *ma’jūn*.

<sup>5</sup> presumably the *karg-khāna* of f. 222b, rhinoceros-home in both places. A similar name applies to a tract in the Rawalpindi District,—Bābur-khāna, Tiger-home, which is linked to the tradition of Buddha’s self-sacrifice to appease the hunger of seven tiger-cubs. [In this Bābur-khāna is the town Kacha-kot from which Bābur always names the river Hārū.]

word that there was a rhino in a bit of jungle near Bīgrām, and that people had been stationed near-about it. We betook ourselves, loose rein, to the place, formed 'a ring round the jungle, made a noise, and brought the rhino out, when it took its way across the plain. Humāyūn and those come with him from that side (Tramontana), who had never seen one before, were much entertained. It was pursued for two miles; many arrows were shot at it; it was brought down without having made a good set at man or horse. Two others were killed. I had often wondered how a rhino and an elephant would behave if brought face to face; this time one came out right in front of some elephants the mahauts were bringing along; it did not face them when the mahauts drove them towards it, but got off in another direction. Fol. 254.

(d. *Preparations for ferrying the Indus.*<sup>1</sup>)

On the day we were in Bīgrām, several of the begs and household were appointed, with pay-masters and dīwāns, six or seven being put in command, to take charge of the boats at the Nīl-āb crossing, to make a list of all who were with the army, name by name, and to count them up.

That evening I had fever and discharge<sup>2</sup> which led on to cough and every time I coughed, I spat blood. Anxiety was great but, by God's mercy, it passed off in two or three days.

(*Dec. 11th*) It rained when we left Bīgrām; we dismounted on the Kābul-water.

(e. *News from Lāhor.*)

News came that Daulat Khān<sup>3</sup> and (Apāq) Ghāzī Khān, having collected an army of from 20 to 30,000, had taken Kilānūr, and intended to move on Lāhor. At once Mumin-i-'alī the commissary was sent galloping off to say, "We are advancing march by march;<sup>4</sup> do not fight till we arrive."

<sup>1</sup> This is the first time on an outward march that Bābur has crossed the Indus by boat; hitherto he has used the ford above Attock, once however specifying that men on foot were put over on rafts.

<sup>2</sup> f. 253.

<sup>3</sup> In my Translator's Note (p. 428), attention was drawn to the circumstance that Bābur always writes Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khānī*, and not Daulat Khān *Lūdī*. In doing this, he uses the family- or clan-name instead of the tribal one, Lūdī.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* day by day.

(*Dec. 14th*) With two night-halts on the way, we reached the water of Sind (Indus), and there dismounted on Thursday the 28th (of Šafar).

(*f. Ferrying the Indus.*)

(*Dec. 16th*) On Saturday the 1st of the first Rabīʿ, we crossed the Sind-water, crossed the water of Kacha-kot (Hārū), and dismounted on the bank of the river.<sup>1</sup> The begs, pay-masters and dīwāns who had been put in charge of the boats, reported that the number of those come with the army, great and small, good and bad, retainer and non-retainer, was written down as 12,000.

(*g. The eastward march.*)

Fol. 254b. The rainfall had been somewhat scant in the plains, but seemed to have been good in the cultivated lands along the hill-skirts; for these reasons we took the road for Siālkot along the skirt-hills. Opposite Hātī *Kakar's* country<sup>2</sup> we came upon a torrent<sup>3</sup> the waters of which were standing in pools. Those pools were all frozen over. The ice was not very thick, as thick as the hand may-be. Such ice is unusual in Hindūstān; not a sign or trace of any was seen in the years we were (*aidūk*) in the country.<sup>4</sup>

We had made five marches from the Sind-water; after the sixth (*Dec. 22nd*—Rabīʿ I. 7th) we dismounted on a torrent in the camping-ground (*yūrt*) of the Bugiāls<sup>5</sup> below Balnāth Jogī's hill which connects with the Hill of Jūd.

<sup>1</sup> *daryā*, which Bābur's precise use of words *e.g.* of *daryā*, *rūd*, and *sū*, allows to apply here to the Indus only.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this was near Parhāla, which stands, where the Sūhān river quits the hills, at the eastern entrance of a wild and rocky gorge a mile in length. It will have been up this gorge that Bābur approached Parhāla in 925 AH. (Rawalpindi Gazetteer p. 11).

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* here, bed of a mountain-stream.

<sup>4</sup> The Elphinstone Codex here preserves the following note, the authorship of which is attested by the scribe's remark that it is copied from the handwriting of Humāyūn Pādshāh:—As my honoured father writes, we did not know until we occupied Hindūstān (932 AH.), but afterwards did know, that ice does form here and there if there come a colder year. This was markedly so in the year I conquered Gujrāt (942 AH.—1535 AD.) when it was so cold for two or three days between Bhūlpūr and Guāliār that the waters were frozen over a hand's thickness.

<sup>5</sup> This is a Kakar (Gakkhar) clan, known also as Baragowah, of which the location in Jahāngīr Pādshāh's time was from Rohtās to Hātya, *i.e.* about where Bābur encamped (*Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge, p. 97; E. and D. vi, 309; Provincial Gazetteers of Rawalpindi and Jihlam, p. 64 and p. 97 respectively).

(*Dec. 23rd*) In order to let people get provisions, we stayed the next day in that camp. 'Araq was drunk on that day. Mullā Muḥ. Pargharī told many stories; never had he been so talkative. Mullā Shams himself was very riotous; once he began, he did not finish till night.

The slaves and servants, good and bad, who had gone out after provisions, went further than this<sup>1</sup> and heedlessly scattered over jungle and plain, hill and broken ground. Owing to this, a few were overcome; Kichkīna *tūnqīār* died there.

(*Dec. 24th*) Marching on, we crossed the Bihat-water at a ford below Jilam (Jihlam) and there dismounted. Walī *Qizil* (Rufus) came there to see me. He was the Siālkot reserve, and held the parganas of Bimrūkī and Akriāda. Thinking about Siālkot, I took towards him the position of censure and reproach. He excused himself, saying "I had come to my *pargana* before Khusrau Kūkūldāsh left Siālkot; he did not even send me word." After listening to his excuse, I said, "Since thou hast paid no attention to Siālkot, why didst thou not join the begs in Lāhor?" He was convicted, but as work was at hand, I did not trouble about his fault.

Fol. 255.

(*h. Scouts sent with orders to Lāhor.*)

(*Dec. 25th*) Sayyid Ṭūfān and Sayyid Lāchīn were sent galloping off, each with a pair-horse,<sup>2</sup> to say in Lāhor, "Do not join battle; meet us at Siālkot or Parsrūr" (mod. Pasrūr). It was in everyone's mouth that Ghāzī Khān had collected 30 to 40,000 men, that Daulat Khān, old as he was, had girt two swords to his waist, and that they were resolved to fight. Thought I, "The proverb says that ten friends are better than nine; do you not make a mistake: when the Lāhor begs have joined you, fight there and then!"

(*Dec. 26th and 27th*) After starting off the two men to the begs, we moved forward, halted one night, and next dismounted on the bank of the Chīn-āb (Chan-āb).

<sup>1</sup> *ānān aūtūb*, a reference perhaps to going out beyond the corn-lands, perhaps to attempt for more than provisions.

<sup>2</sup> *qūsh-āi*, a led horse to ride in change.

As Buhlūlpūr was *khalṣa*,<sup>1</sup> we left the road to visit it. Its fort is situated above a deep ravine, on the bank of the Chīn-āb. It pleased us much. We thought of bringing Sīālkot to it. Please God! the chance coming, it shall be done straightway! Fol. 255<sup>o</sup>. From Buhlūlpūr we went to camp by boat.

(i. *Jats and Gujūrs*.<sup>2</sup>)

(Dec. 29<sup>th</sup>) On Friday the 14th of the first Rabi' we dismounted at Sīālkot. If one go into Hindūstān the Jats and Gujūrs always pour down in countless hordes from hill and plain for loot in bullock and buffalo. These ill-omened peoples are just senseless oppressors! Formerly their doings did not concern us much because the country was an enemy's, but they began the same senseless work after we had taken it. When we reached Sīālkot, they fell in tumult on poor and needy folks who were coming out of the town to our camp, and stripped them bare. I had the silly thieves sought for, and ordered two or three of them cut to pieces.

From Sīālkot Nūr Beg's brother Shāham also was made to gallop off to the begs in Lāhor to say, "Make sure where the enemy is; find out from some well-informed person where he may be met, and send us word."

A trader, coming into this camp, represented that 'Ālam Khān had let Sl. Ibrāhīm defeat him.

<sup>1</sup> According to Shaikh Zain it was in this year that Bābur made Buhlūlpūr a royal domain (B.M. Add. 26,202 f. 16), but this does not agree with Bābur's explanation that he visited the place because it was *khalṣa*. Its name suggests that it had belonged to Buhlūl *Lūdī*; Bābur may have taken it in 930 A.H. when he captured Sīālkot. It never received the population of Sīālkot, as Bābur had planned it should do because pond-water was drunk in the latter town and was a source of disease. The words in which Bābur describes its situation are those he uses of Akhsī (f. 4b); not improbably a resemblance inclined his liking towards Buhlūlpūr. (It may be noted that this Buhlūlpūr is mentioned in the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* and marked on large maps, but is not found in the G. of I. 1907.)

<sup>2</sup> Both names are thus spelled in the *Bābur-nāma*. In view of the inclination of Turkī to long vowels, Bābur's short one in Jat may be worth consideration since modern usage of Jat and Jāt varies. Mr. Crooke writes the full vowel, and mentions that Jāts are Hindūs, Sikhs, and Muḥammadans (*Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces and Oude*, iii, 38). On this point and on the orthography of the name, Erskine's note (*Memoirs* p. 294) is as follows: "The Jets or Jats are the Muhammadan peasantry of the Panj-āb, the bank of the Indus, Siwistān etc. and must not be confounded with the Jāts, a powerful Hindū tribe to the west of the Jamna, about Agra etc. and which occupies a subordinate position in the country of the Rājputs."

(j. 'Ālam Khān's action and failure.<sup>1</sup>)

Here are the particulars :—'Ālam Khān, after taking leave of me (in Kābul, 931AH.), went off in that heat by double marches, regardless of those with him.<sup>2</sup> As at the time I gave him leave to go, all the Aūzbeḡ khāns and sultāns had laid siege to Balkh, I rode for Balkh as soon as I had given him his leave. On his reaching Lāhor, he insisted to the begs, " You reinforce me ; the Pādshāh said so ; march along with me ; let us get (Apāḡ) Ghāzī Khān to join us ; let us move on Dihlī and Āgra." Said they, " Trusting to what, will you join Ghāzī Khān ? Moreover the royal orders to us were, ' If at any time Ghāzī Khān has sent his younger brother Ḥājī Khān with his son to Court, join him ; or do so, if he has sent them, by way of pledge, to Lāhor ; if he has done neither, do not join him.' You yourself only yesterday fought him and let him beat you ! Trusting to what, will you join him now ? Besides all this, it is not for your advantage to join him !" Having said what-not of this sort, they refused 'Ālam Khān. He did not fall in with their views, but sent his son Sher Khān to speak with Daulat Khān and with Ghāzī Khān, and afterwards all saw one another.

'Ālam Khān took with him Dilāwar Khān, who had come into Lāhor two or three months earlier after his escape from prison ; he took also Maḥmūd Khān (son of) Khān-i-jahān,<sup>3</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> The following section contains a later addition to the diary summarizing the action of 'Ālam Khān before and after Bābur heard of the defeat from the trader he mentions. It refutes an opinion found here and there in European writings that Bābur used and threw over 'Ālam Khān. It and Bābur's further narrative shew that 'Ālam Khān had little valid backing in Hindūstān, that he contributed nothing to Bābur's success, and that no abstention by Bābur from attack on Ibrāhīm would have set 'Ālam Khān on the throne of Dihlī. It and other records, Bābur's and those of Afghān chroniclers, allow it to be said that if 'Ālam Khān had been strong enough to accomplish his share of the compact that he should take and should rule Dihlī, Bābur would have kept to his share, namely, would have maintained supremacy in the Panj-āb. He advanced against Ibrāhīm only when 'Ālam Khān had totally failed in arms and in securing adherence.

<sup>2</sup> This oburgation on over-rapid marching looks like the echo of complaint made to Bābur by men of his own whom he had given to 'Ālam Khān in Kābul.

<sup>3</sup> Maḥmūd himself may have inherited his father's title Khān-i-jahān but a little further on he is specifically mentioned as the son of Khān-i-jahān, presumably because his father had been a more notable man than he was. Of his tribe it may be noted that the Ḥaidarābād MS. uniformly writes Nuḥānī and not Luḥānī as is usual in European writings, and that it does so even when, as on f. 149b, the word is applied to a trader. Concerning the tribe, family, or caste *vide* G. of I. s.n. Lohānas and Crooke *l.c.* s.n. Pathān, para. 21.



whom a *pargana* in the Lāhor district had been given. They seem to have left matters at this :—Daulat Khān with Ghāzī Khān was to take all the begs posted in Hindūstān to himself, indeed he was to take everything on that side ;<sup>1</sup> while ‘Ālam Khān was to take Dilāwar Khān and Hājī Khān and, reinforced by them, was to capture Dihlī and Āgra. Ismā‘īl *Jilwānī* and other amīrs came and saw ‘Ālam Khān ; all then betook themselves, march by march, straight for Dihlī. Near Indrī came also Sulaimān Shaikh-zāda.<sup>2</sup> Their total touched 30 to 40,000 men.

They laid siege to Dihlī but could neither take it by assault nor do hurt to the garrison.<sup>3</sup> When Sl. Ibrāhīm heard of their assembly, he got an army to horse against them ; when they heard of his approach, they rose from before the place and moved to meet him. They had left matters at this :—“ If we attack by day-light, the Afghāns will not desert (to us), for the sake of their reputations with one another ; but if we attack at night when one man cannot see another, each man will obey his own orders.” Twice over they started at fall of day from a distance of 12 miles (6 *kurohs*), and, unable to bring matters to a point, neither advanced nor retired, but just sat on horseback for two or three watches. On a third occasion they delivered an attack when one watch of night remained—their purpose seeming to be the burning of tents and huts ! They went ; they set fire from every end ; they made a disturbance. Jalāl Khān *Jig-hat*<sup>4</sup> came with other amīrs and saw ‘Ālam Khān.

Sl. Ibrāhīm did not bestir himself till shoot of dawn from where he was with a few of his own family<sup>5</sup> within his own enclosure (*sarācha*). Meantime ‘Ālam Khān’s people were busy with plunder and booty. Seeing the smallness of their number, Sl. Ibrāhīm’s people moved out against them in rather small

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* west of Dihlī territory, the Panj-āb.

<sup>2</sup> He was of the Farmul family of which Bābur says (f. 139<sup>b</sup>) that it was in high favour in Hindūstān under the Afghāns and of which the author of the *Wāqī‘āt-i-mushktāqī* says that it held half the lands of Dihlī in *jāgīr* (E. and D. iv, 547).

<sup>3</sup> Presumably he could not cut off supplies.

<sup>4</sup> The only word similar to this that I have found is one “ Jaghat ” said to mean serpent and to be the name of a Hindū sub-caste of Nats (Crooke, iv, 72 & 73). The word here might be a nick-name. Bābur writes it as two words.

<sup>5</sup> *khāsa-khāil*, presumably members of the Sāhū-khail (family) of the Lūdī tribe of the Afghān race.

force with one elephant. 'Ālam Khān's party, not able to make stand against the elephant, ran away. He in his flight crossed over into the Mīān-dū-āb and crossed back again when he reached the Pānīpat neighbourhood. In Indrī he contrived on some pretext to get 4 *laks* from Mīān Sulaimān.<sup>1</sup> He was deserted by Ismā'īl *Jilwānī*, by Biban<sup>2</sup> and by his own oldest son Jalāl, who all withdrew into the Mīān-dū-āb; and he had been deserted just before the fighting, by part of his troops, namely, by Daryā Khān (*Nūhānī*)'s son Saif Khān, by Khān-i-jahān (*Nūhānī*)'s son Maḥmūd Khān, and by Shaikh Jamāl *Farmulī*. When he was passing through Sīhrind with Dilāwar Khān, he heard of our advance and of our capture of Milwat (Malot).<sup>3</sup> On this Dilāwar Khān—who always had been my well-wisher and on my account had dragged out three or four months in prison,—left 'Ālam Khān and the rest and went to his family in Sulṭānpūr. He waited on me three or four days after we took Milwat. 'Ālam Khān and Ḥājī Khān crossed the Shatlut (*sic*)-water and went into Gingūta,<sup>4</sup> one of the strongholds in the range that lies between the valley and the plain.<sup>5</sup> There our Afghān and Hazāra<sup>6</sup> troops besieged them, and had almost taken that strong fort when night came on. Those inside were thinking of escape but could not get out because of the press of horses in the Gate. There must have been elephants also; when these were urged forward, they trod down and killed many horses. 'Ālam Khān, unable to escape mounted, got out on foot in the darkness. After a *lak* of difficulties, he joined Ghāzī Khān, who had not gone into Milwat but had fled into the

Fol. 257b.

<sup>1</sup> Erskine suggested that this man was a rich banker, but he might well be the Farmulī Shaikh-zāda of f. 256b, in view of the exchange Afghān historians make of the Farmulī title Shaikh for Mīān (*Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. & D. iv, 347 and *Tārīkh-i-dawūdī* ib. 457).

<sup>2</sup> This Biban, or Bīban, as Bābur always calls him without title, is Malik Biban *Jilwānī*. He was associated with Shaikh Bāyazīd *Farmulī* or, as Afghān writers style him, Mīān Bāyazīd *Farmulī*. (Another of his name was Mīān Biban, son of Mīān Atā *Sāhū-khānī* (E. & D. iv, 347).)

<sup>3</sup> This name occurs so frequently in and about the Panj-āb as to suggest that it means a fort (Ar. *malūgat*?). This one in the Siwāliks was founded by Tātār Khān *Yūsuf-khānī* (*Lūḍī*) in the time of Buhlūl *Lūḍī* (E. and D. iv, 415).

<sup>4</sup> In the Beth Jalandhar *dū-āb*.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* on the Siwāliks, here locally known as Katār Dhār.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably they were from the Hazāra district east of the Indus. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* mentions that this detachment was acting under Khalīfa apart from Bābur and marching through the skirt-hills (lith. ed. p. 182).

hills. Not being received with even a little friendliness by Ghāzī Khān; needs must! he came and waited on me at the foot of the dale<sup>1</sup> near Pehlūr.

(*k. Diary resumed.*)

A person came to Siālkot from the Lāhor begs to say they would arrive early next morning to wait on me.

(*Dec. 30th*) Marching early next day (Rabī' I. 15th), we dismounted at Parsrūr. There Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Khwāja Ḥusain and several braves waited on me. As the enemy's camp seemed to be on the Lāhor side of the Rāvī, we sent men out under Būjka for news. Near the third watch of the night they brought word that the enemy, on hearing of us, had fled, no man looking to another.

(*Dec. 31st*) Getting early to horse and leaving baggage and train in the charge of Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Jān Beg, we bestirred ourselves. We reached Kalānūr in the afternoon, and there dismounted. Muḥammad Sī. Mīrzā and 'Ādil Sī.<sup>2</sup> came to wait on me there, together with some of the begs.

Fol. 258.

(*Jan. 1st 1526 AD.*) We marched early from Kalānūr. On the road people gave us almost certain news of Ghāzī Khān and other fugitives. Accordingly we sent, flying after those fliers, the commanders Muḥammadī, Aḥmadī, Qūtlūq-qadam, Treasurer Walī and most of those begs who, in Kābul, had recently bent the knee for their begship. So far it was settled:—That it would be good indeed if they could overtake and capture the fugitives; and that, if they were not able to do this, they were to keep careful watch round Milwat (Malot), so as to prevent those inside from getting out and away. Ghāzī Khān was the object of this watch.

(*l. Capture of Milwat.*)

(*Jan. 2nd and 3rd*) After starting those begs ahead, we crossed the Biāh-water (Beas) opposite Kanwāhīn<sup>3</sup> and dismounted. From there we marched to the foot of the valley of Fort Milwat, making two night-halts on the way. The begs who

<sup>1</sup> *dūn*, f. 260 and note.

<sup>2</sup> These were both refugees from Harāt.

<sup>3</sup> Sarkār of Batāla, in the Bārī *dū-āb* (A.-i.-A. Jarrett, p. 110).

had arrived before us, and also those of Hindūstān were ordered to dismount in such a way as to besiege the place closely.

A grandson of Daulat Khān, son of his eldest son 'Alī Khān, Ismā'il Khān by name, came out of Milwat to see me ; he took back promise mingled with threat, kindness with menace.

(*Jan. 5th*) On Friday (Rabī' I. 21st) I moved camp forward to within a mile of the fort, went myself to examine the place, posted right, left and centre, then returned to camp.

Daulat Khān sent to represent to me that Ghāzī Khān had fled into the hills, and that, if his own faults were pardoned, he would take service with me and surrender Milwat. Khwāja Mir-i-mirān was sent to chase fear from his heart and to escort him out ; he came, and with him his son 'Alī Khān. I had ordered that the two swords he had girt to his waist to fight me with, should be hung from his neck. Was such a rustic blockhead possible ! With things as they were, he still made pretensions ! When he was brought a little forward, I ordered the swords to be removed from his neck. At the time of our seeing one another<sup>1</sup> he hesitated to kneel ; I ordered them to pull his leg and make him do so. I had him seated quite in front, and ordered a person well acquainted with Hindūstānī to interpret my words to him, one after another. Saīd I, " Thus speak :—I called thee Father. I shewed thee more honour and respect than thou couldst have asked. Thee and thy sons I saved from door-to-door life amongst the Balūchīs.<sup>2</sup> Thy family and thy *haram* I freed from Ibrāhīm's prison-house.<sup>3</sup> Three *krors* I gave thee on Tātār Khān's lands.<sup>4</sup> What ill sayest thou I have done thee, that thus thou shouldst hang a sword on thy either side,<sup>5</sup> lead an army out, fall on lands of ours,<sup>6</sup> and stir strife and trouble ? " Dumbfounded, the old man

Fol. 258b.

<sup>1</sup> *kūrūshūr waqt* (Index s.n. *kūrūsh*).

<sup>2</sup> Bābur's phrasing suggests beggary.

<sup>3</sup> This might refer to the time when Ibrāhīm's commander Bihār (Bahādūr) Khān *Nūhānī* took Lāhor (Translator's Note *in loco* p. 441).

<sup>4</sup> They were his father's. Erskine estimated the 3 *krors* at £75,000.

<sup>5</sup> *shūq*, what hangs on either side, perhaps a satirical reference to the ass' burden.

<sup>6</sup> As illustrating Bābur's claim to rule as a Tīmūrid in Hindūstān, it may be noted that in 814 A.H. (1411 AD.), Khīzr Khān who is allowed by the date to have been a Sayyid ruler in Dihlī, sent an embassy to Shāhrukh Mirzā the then Tīmūrid ruler of Samarkand to acknowledge his suzerainty (*Matla' u s-sa'dain*, Quatremère, N. et Ex. xiv, 196).

Fol. 259. stuttered a few words, but he gave no answer, nor indeed could answer be given to words so silencing. He was ordered to remain with Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān.

(*Jan. 6th*) On Saturday the 22nd of the first Rabi', I went myself to safeguard the exit of the families and *ḥarāms*<sup>1</sup> from the fort, dismounting on a rise opposite the Gate. To me there came 'Alī Khān and made offering of a few *ashrafīs*. People began to bring out the families just before the Other Prayer. Though Ghāzi Khān was reported to have got away, there were who said they had seen him in the fort. For this reason several of the household and braves<sup>2</sup> were posted at the Gate, in order to prevent his escape by a ruse, for to get away was his full intention.<sup>3</sup> Moreover if jewels and other valuables were being taken away by stealth, they were to be confiscated. I spent that night in a tent pitched on the rise in front of the Gate.

Fol. 259b. (*Jan. 7th*) Early next morning, Muḥammadi, Aḥmadi, Sī. Junaid, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and Qūtlūq-qadam were ordered to enter the fort and take possession of all effects. As there was much disturbance at the Gate, I shot off a few arrows by way of chastisement. Humāyūn's story-teller (*qiṣṣa-khwān*) was struck by the arrow of his destiny and at once surrendered his life.

(*Jan. 7th and 8th*) After spending two nights<sup>4</sup> on the rise, I inspected the fort. I went into Ghāzi Khān's book-room;<sup>5</sup> some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humāyūn, some sent to Kāmṛān (in Qandahār). There were many books of learned contents,<sup>6</sup> but not so many valuable ones as had at first appeared. I passed that night in the fort; next morning I went back to camp.

(*Jan. 9th*) It had been in our minds that Ghāzi Khān was in the fort, but he, a man devoid of nice sense of honour, had

<sup>1</sup> Firishṭa says that Bābur mounted for the purpose of preserving the honour of the Afghāns and by so doing enabled the families in the fort to get out of it safely (lith. ed. p. 204).

<sup>2</sup> *chuhra*; they will have been of the Corps of braves (*yīgīt*; Appendix H. section c.).

<sup>3</sup> *kīm kullī gharq aul ādī*; Pers. trs. *ka gharq-i-kullī-i-ai būd*.

<sup>4</sup> Persice, the eves of Sunday and Monday; Anglice, Saturday and Sunday nights.

<sup>5</sup> Ghāzi Khān was learned and a poet (Firishṭa ii, 42).

<sup>6</sup> *mullayāna khūd*, perhaps books of learned topic but not in choice copies.

escaped to the hills, abandoning father, brethren and sisters in Milwat.

See that man without honour who never  
The face of good luck shall behold;  
Bodily ease he chose for himself,  
In hardship he left wife and child (*Gulistān* cap. i, story 17).

(*Jan. 10th*) Leaving that camp on Wednesday, we moved towards the hills to which Ghāzī Khān had fled. When we dismounted in the valley-bottom two miles from the camp in the mouth of Milwat,<sup>1</sup> Dilāwar Khān came and waited on me. Daulat Khān, 'Alī Khān and Ismā'il Khān, with other chiefs, were given into Kitta Beg's charge who was to convey them to the Bhīra fort of Milwat (Malot),<sup>2</sup> and there keep guard over them. In agreement with Dilāwar Khān, blood-ransom was fixed for some who had been made over each to one man; some gave security, some were kept prisoner. Daulat Khān died when Kitta Beg reached Sulṭānpūr with the prisoners.<sup>3</sup> Fol. 260.

Milwat was given into the charge of Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang* who, pledging his own life for it, left his elder brother Arghūn and a party of braves in it. A body of from 200 to 250 Afghāns were told off to reinforce him.

Khwāja Kalān had loaded several camels with Ghaznī wines. A party was held in his quarters overlooking the fort and the whole camp, some drinking 'araq, some wine. It was a varied party.

(*m. Jaswān-valley.*)

Marching on, we crossed a low hill of the grazing-grounds (*arghā-dāl-līq*) of Milwat and went into the *dūn*, as Hindūstānis

<sup>1</sup> f. 257. It stands in 31° 50' N. and 76° E. (G. of I.).

<sup>2</sup> This is on the Salt-range, in 32° 42' N. and 72° 50' E. (*Āyīn-i-akbarī* trs. Jarrett, i, 325; Provincial Gazetteer, Jihlam District).

<sup>3</sup> He died therefore in the town he himself built. Kitta Beg probably escorted the Afghān families from Milwat also; Dilāwar Khān's own seems to have been there already (f. 257).

The *Bābur-nāma* makes no mention of Daulat Khān's relations with Nānak, the founder of the Sikh religion, nor does it mention Nānak himself. A tradition exists that Nānak, when on his travels, made exposition of his doctrines to an attentive Bābur and that he was partly instrumental in bringing Bābur against the Afghāns. He was 12 years older than Bābur and survived him nine. (Cf. *Dabistān* lith. ed. p. 270; and, for Jahāngīr Pādshāh's notice of Daulat Khān, *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīrī*, Rogers and Beveridge, p. 87).

are understood to call a dale (*juḷga*).<sup>1</sup> In this dale is a running-water<sup>2</sup> of Hindūstān ; along its sides are many villages ; and it is said to be the pargana of the Jaswāl, that is to say, of Dilāwar Khān's maternal uncles. It lies there shut-in, with meadows along its torrent, rice cultivated here and there, a three or four mill-stream flowing in its trough, its width from two to four miles, six even in places, villages on the skirts of its hills—hillocks they are rather—where there are no villages, peacocks, monkeys, and many fowls which, except that they are mostly of one colour, are exactly like house-fowls.

Fol. 260b.

As no reliable news was had of Ghāzī Khān, we arranged for Tardīka to go with Bīrīm Deo *Malinhās* and capture him wherever he might be found.

In the hills of this dale stand thoroughly strong forts ; one on the north-east, named Kūtila, has sides 70 to 80 yards (*qārī*) of straight fall, the side where the great gate is being perhaps 7 or 8 yards.<sup>3</sup> The width of the place where the draw-bridge is made, may be 10 to 12 yards. Across this they have made a bridge of two tall trees<sup>4</sup> by which horses and herds are taken over. This was one of the local forts Ghāzī Khān had strengthened ; his man will have been in it now. Our raiders (*chāpquunchī*) assaulted it and had almost taken it when night came on. The garrison abandoned this difficult place and went off. Near this dale is also the stronghold of Ginguta ; it is girt

<sup>1</sup> I translate *dūn* by *dale* because, as its equivalent, Bābūr uses *juḷga* by which he describes a more pastoral valley than one he calls a *dara*.

<sup>2</sup> *bīr āqār-sā*. Bābūr's earlier uses of this term [*q.v.* index] connect it with the swift flow of water in irrigation channels ; this may be so here but also the term may make distinction between the rapid mountain-stream and the slow movement of rivers across plains.

<sup>3</sup> There are two readings of this sentence ; Erskine's implies that the neck of land connecting the fort-rock with its adjacent hill measures 7-8 *qārī* (yards) from side to side ; de Courteille's that where the great gate was, the perpendicular fall surrounding the fort shallowed to 7-8 yards. The Turkī might be read, I think, to mean whichever alternative was the fact. Erskine's reading best bears out Bābūr's account of the strength of the fort, since it allows of a cleft between the hill and the fort some 140-160 feet deep, as against the 21-24 of de Courteille's. Erskine may have been in possession of information [in 1826] by which he guided his translation (p. 300), "At its chief gate, for the space of 7 or 8 *gez* (*qārī*), there is a place that admits of a draw-bridge being thrown across ; it may be 10 or 12 *gez* wide." If de Courteille's reading be correct in taking 7-8 *qārī* only to be the depth of the cleft, that cleft may be artificial.

<sup>4</sup> *yīghāch*, which also means wood.

round by precipices as Kūtila is, but is not so strong as Kūtila. As has been mentioned 'Ālam Khān went into it.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 261.

(n. *Bābur advances against Ibrāhīm.*)

After despatching the light troop against Ghāzī Khān, I put my foot in the stirrup of resolution, set my hand on the rein of trust in God, and moved forward against Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, son of Sulṭān Sikandar, son of Buhlūl *Lūdi Afghān*, in possession of whose throne at that time were the Dihlī capital and the dominions of Hindūstān, whose standing-army was called a *lak* (100,000), whose elephants and whose begs' elephants were about 1000.

At the end of our first stage, I bestowed Dībālpūr on Bāqī *shaghāwal*<sup>2</sup> and sent him to help Balkh<sup>3</sup>; sent also gifts, taken in the success of Milwat, for (my) younger children and various train in Kābul.

When we had made one or two marches down the (Jaswān) *dūn*, Shāh 'Imād *Shirāzi* arrived from Araish Khān and Mullā Muḥammad *Mazhab*,<sup>4</sup> bringing letters that conveyed their good wishes for the complete success of our campaign and indicated their effort and endeavour towards this. In response, we sent, by a foot-man, royal letters expressing our favour. We then marched on.

<sup>1</sup> f. 257.

<sup>2</sup> chief scribe (f. 13 n. to 'Abdu'l-wahhāb). Shaw's Vocabulary explains the word as meaning also a "high official of Central Asian sovereigns, who is supreme over all *qāzīs* and *mullās*."

<sup>3</sup> Bābur's persistent interest in Balkh attracts attention, especially at this time so shortly before he does not include it as part of his own territories (f. 270).

Since I wrote of Balkh *s.a.* 923 AH. (1517 AD.), I have obtained the following particulars about it in that year; they are summarized from the *Ḥabībū's-siyar* (lith. ed. iii, 371). In 923 AH. Khwānd-amīr was in retirement at Pasht in Ghūrjistān where also was Muḥammad-i-zamān Mirzā. The two went in company to Balkh where the Mirzā besieged Bābur's man Ibrāhīm *chāpūk* (Slash-face), and treacherously murdered one Aīrdū-shāh, an envoy sent out to parley with him. Information of what was happening was sent to Bābur in Kābul. Bābur reached Balkh when it had been besieged a month. His presence caused the Mirzā to retire and led him to go into the Darā-i-gaz (Tamarind-valley). Bābur, placing in Balkh Faqīr-i-'alī, one of those just come up with him, followed the Mirzā but turned back at Āq-gumbaz (White-dome) which lies between Chāch-charān in the Herī-rūd valley and the Ghūrjistān border, going no further because the Ghūrjistānis favoured the Mirzā. Bābur went back to Kābul by the Firūz-koh, Yaka-aūlāng (cf. f. 195) and Ghūr; the Mirzā was followed up by others, captured and conveyed to Kābul.

<sup>4</sup> Both were amirs of Hind. I understand the cognomen *Mazhab* to imply that its bearer occupied himself with the Muḥammadan Faith in its exposition by divines of Islām (*Hughes' Dictionary of Islām*).



(o. 'Ālam Khān takes refuge with Bābur.)

The light troop we had sent out from Milwat (Malot), took Hurūr, Kahlūr and all the hill-forts of the neighbourhood—places to which because of their strength, no-one seemed to have gone for a long time—and came back to me after plundering a little. Came also 'Ālam Khān, on foot, ruined, stripped bare. We sent some of the begs to give him honourable meeting, sent horses too, and he waited (*malāzamat qīldī*) in that neighbourhood.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 261b.

Raiders of ours went into the hills and valleys round-about, but after a few nights' absence, came back without anything to count. Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Jān Beg and a few of the braves asked leave and went off for a raid.

(p. *Incidents of the march for Pānī-ḡat.*)

While we were in the (Jaswān) *dūn*, dutiful letters had come more than once from Ismā'īl *Jilwānī* and Biban; we replied to them from this place by royal letters such as their hearts desired. After we got out of the dale to Rūpar, it rained very much and became so cold that a mass of starved and naked Hindūstānīs died.

When we had left Rūpar and were dismounted at Karal,<sup>2</sup> opposite Sihrind, a Hindūstānī coming said, "I am Sl. Ibrāhīm's envoy," and though he had no letter or credentials, asked for an envoy from us. We responded at once by sending one or two Sawādī night-guards (*tunqīṭār*).<sup>3</sup> These humble persons Ibrāhīm put in prison; they made their escape and came back to us on the very day we beat him.

After having halted one night on the way, we dismounted on the bank of the torrent<sup>4</sup> of Banūr and Sanūr. Great rivers

<sup>1</sup> These incidents are included in the summary of 'Ālam Khān's affairs in section *i* (f. 255b). It will be observed that Bābur's wording implies the "waiting" by one of lower rank on a superior.

<sup>2</sup> Elph. MS. Karnāl, obviously a clerical error.

<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Sulaimān Effendi (Kunos) describes a *tunqīṭār* as the guardian in war of a prince's tent; a night-guard; and as one who repeats a prayer aloud while a prince is mounting.

<sup>4</sup> *rūd*, which, inappropriate for the lower course of the Ghaggar, may be due to Bābur's visit to its upper course described immediately below. As has been noted, however, he uses the word *rūd* to describe the empty bed of a mountain-stream as well as the swift water sometimes filling that bed. The account, here-following, of his visit to the upper course of the Ghaggar is somewhat difficult to translate.

apart, one running water there is in Hindūstān, is this<sup>1</sup>; they call it the water of Kakar (Ghaggar). Chitr also is on its bank. We rode up it for an excursion. The rising-place (*sih*) of the water of this torrent (*rūd*) is 3 or 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.) above Chitr. Going up the (Kakar) torrent, we came to where a 4 or 5 mill-stream issues from a broad (side-)valley (*dara*), up which there are very pleasant places, healthy and convenient. I ordered a Chār-bāgh to be made at the mouth of the broad valley of this (tributary) water, which falls into the (Kakar-) torrent after flowing for one or two *kurohs* through level ground. From its infall to the springs of the Kakar the distance may be 3 to 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.). When it comes down in flood during the rains and joins the Kakar, they go together to Sāmāna and Sanām.<sup>2</sup>

Fol. 262.

In this camp we heard that Sl. Ibrāhīm had been on our side of Dihlī and had moved on from that station, also that Ḥamīd Khān *khāṣa-khail*,<sup>3</sup> the military-collector (*shiqdār*) of Ḥiṣār-firūza, had left that place with its army and with the army of its neighbourhood, and had advanced 10 or 15 *kurohs* (20–30 m.). Kitta Beg was sent for news to Ibrāhīm's camp, and Mumin Ātaka to the Ḥiṣār-firūza camp.

(*q. Humāyūn moves against Ḥamīd Khān.*)

(*Feb. 25th*) Marching from Aṃbāla, we dismounted by the side of a lake. There Mumin Ātaka and Kitta Beg rejoined us, both on the same day, Sunday the 13th of the first Jumāda.

We appointed Humāyūn to act against Ḥamīd Khān, and joined the whole of the right (wing) to him, that is to say, Khwāja Kalān, Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi*, Treasurer Walī, and also some of the begs whose posts were in Hindūstān, namely, Khusrau, Hindū Beg, 'Abdu'l-'azīz and Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, with also, from the household and braves of the centre, Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*, Kitta Beg and Muḥibbi-i 'alī.

Fol. 262b.

<sup>1</sup> *Hindūstāndā daryūlārdīn bāshqa, bīr āqār-sū kīm bār (dūr, is added by the Elph. MS.), bū dūr.* Perhaps the meaning is that the one (chief?) irrigation stream, apart from great rivers, is the Ghaggar. The bed of the Ghaggar is undefined and the water is consumed for irrigation (G. of I. xx, 33; Index *s.n. āqār-sū*).

<sup>2</sup> in Patīāla. Maps show what may be Bābur's strong millstream joining the Ghaggar.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably he was of Ibrāhīm's own family, the Sāhū-khail. His defeat was opportune because he was on his way to join the main army.

Biban waited on me in this camp. These Afghāns remain very rustic and tactless! This person asked to sit although Dilāwar Khān, his superior in following and in rank, did not sit, and although the sons of 'Ālam Khān, who are of royal birth, did not sit. Little ear was lent to his unreason!

(*Feb. 26th*) At dawn on Monday the 14th Humāyūn moved out against Ḥamīd Khān. After advancing for some distance, he sent between 100 and 150 braves scouting ahead, who went close up to the enemy and at once got to grips. But when after a few encounters, the dark mass of Humāyūn's troops shewed in the rear, the enemy ran right away. Humāyūn's men unhorsed from 100 to 200, struck the heads off one half and brought the other half in, together with 7 or 8 elephants.

(*March 2nd*) On Friday the 18th of the month, Beg Mīrak *Mughūl* brought news of Humāyūn's victory to the camp. He (Humāyūn?) was there and then given a special head-to-foot and a special horse from the royal stable, besides promise of guerdon (*juldū*).

(*March 5th*) On Monday the 25th of the month, Humāyūn arrived to wait on me, bringing with him as many as 100 prisoners and 7 or 8 elephants. Ustād 'Alī-qulī and the matchlockmen were ordered to shoot all the prisoners, by way of example. This had been Humāyūn's first affair, his first experience of battle; it was an excellent omen!

Fol. 263.

Our men who had gone in pursuit of the fugitives, took Ḥiṣār-fīrūza at once on arrival, plundered it, and returned to us. It was given in guerdon to Humāyūn, with all its dependencies and appurtenances, with it also a *kror* of money.

We marched from that camp to Shāhābād. After we had despatched a news-gatherer (*īl-tūtār kīshī*) to Sl. Ibrāhīm's camp, we stayed a few days on that ground. Raḥmat the foot-man was sent with the letters of victory to Kābul.

(*r. News of Ibrāhīm.*)

(*March 13th*) On Monday the 28th of the first Jumāda,<sup>1</sup> we being in that same camp, the Sun entered the Sign of the Ram.

<sup>1</sup> At this place the Elphinstone Codex has preserved, interpolated in its text, a note of Humāyūn's on his first use of the razor. Part of it is written as by Bābur:—

News had come again and again from Ibrāhīm's camp, "He is coming, marching two miles" or "four miles", "stopping in each camp two days," or "three days". We for our part advanced from Shāhābād and after halting on two nights, reached the bank of the Jūn-river (Jumna) and encamped opposite Sarsāwa. From that ground Khwāja Kalān's servant Ḥaidar-qulī was sent to get news (*tīl tūtā*).

Having crossed the Jūn-river at a ford, I visited Sarsāwa. That day also we ate *mā'jūn*. Sarsāwa<sup>1</sup> has a source (*chashma*) from which a smallish stream issues, not a bad place! Tardī Beg *khāksār* praising it, I said, "Let it be thine!" so just because he praised it, Sarsāwa was given to him! Fol. 263b.

I had a platform fixed in a boat and used to go for excursions on the river, sometimes too made the marches down it. Two marches along its bank had been made when, of those sent to gather news, Ḥaidar-qulī brought word that Ibrāhīm had sent Daud Khān (*Lūdī*) and Ḥātim Khān (*Lūdī*) across the river into the Mīān-dū-āb (Tween-waters) with 5 or 6000 men, and that these lay encamped some 6 or 7 miles from his own.

(s. *A successful encounter.*)

(*April 1st*) On Sunday the 18th of the second Jumāda, we sent, to ride light against this force, Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān,<sup>2</sup>

"Today in this same camp the razor or scissors was applied to Humāyūn's face." Part is signed by Humāyūn:—"As the honoured dead, earlier in these Acts (*wāqī'āt*) mentions the first application of the razor to his own face (f. 120), so in imitation of him I mention this. I was then at the age of 18; now I am at the age of 48, I who am the sub-signed Muḥammad Humāyūn." A scribe's note attests that this is "copied from the hand-writing of that honoured one". As Humāyūn's 48th (lunar) birthday occurred a month before he left Kābul, to attempt the re-conquest of Hindūstān, in November 1554 A.D. (in the last month of 961 A.H.), he was still 48 (lunar) years old on the day he re-entered Dihlī on July 23rd 1555 A.D. (Ramzān 1st 962 A.H.), so that this "shaving passage" will have been entered within those dates. That he should study his Father's book at that time is natural; his grandson Jahāngīr did the same when going to Kābul; so doubtless would do its author's more remote descendants, the sons of Shāh-jahān who reconquered Transoxiana.

(Concerning the "shaving passage" *vide* the notes on the Elphinstone Codex in J.R.A.S. 1900 p. 443, 451; 1902 p. 653; 1905 p. 754; and 1907 p. 131.)

<sup>1</sup> This ancient town of the Sahāranpūr district is associated with a saint revered by Hindūs and Muḥammadans. Cf. W. Crooke's *Popular Religion of Northern India* p. 133. Its *chashma* may be inferred (from Bābur's uses of the word *q.v.* Index) as a water-head, a pool, a gathering place of springs.

<sup>2</sup> He was the eighth son of Bābur's maternal-uncle Sī. Aḥmad Khān *Chaghataū* and had fled to Bābur, other brothers following him, from the service of their eldest brother Maṅṣūr, Khāqān of the Mughūls (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. p. 161).

Mahdi Khwāja, Muḥammad Sī. Mīrzā, ‘Ādil Sultān, and the whole of the left, namely, Sī. Junaid, Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Qūtlūq-qadam, and with them also sent ‘Abdu’l-lāh and Kitta Beg (of the centre). They crossed from our side of the water at the Mid-day Prayer, and between the Afternoon and the Evening Prayers bestirred themselves from the other bank. Biban having crossed the water on pretext of this movement, ran away.

(*April 2nd*) At day-break they came upon the enemy; <sup>1</sup> he made as if coming out in a sort of array, but our men closed with his at once, overcame them, hustled them off, pursued and unhorsed them till they were opposite Ibrāhīm’s own camp. Ḥātīm Khān was one of those unhorsed, who was Daud Khān (*Lūdī*)’s elder brother and one of his commanders. Our men brought him in when they waited on me. They brought also 60–70 prisoners and 6 or 7 elephants. Most of the prisoners, by way of warning, were made to reach their death-doom.

Fol. 264.

(*t. Preparations for battle.*)

While we were marching on in array of right, left and centre, the army was numbered; <sup>2</sup> it did not count up to what had been estimated.

At our next camp it was ordered that every man in the army should collect carts, each one according to his circumstances. Seven hundred carts (*arāba*) were brought <sup>3</sup> in. The order given

<sup>1</sup> *farz-waqti*, when there is light enough to distinguish one object from another.

<sup>2</sup> *dim kūrūlāi* (Index *s.n. dim*). Here the L. & E. *Memoirs* inserts an explanatory passage in Persian about the *dim*. It will have been in one of the *Wāqī’āt-i-bāburi MSS.* Erskine used; it is in Muh. *Shīrāzī*’s lithograph copy of the Udaipur Codex (p. 173). It is not in the Turki text or in all the MSS. of the Persian translation. Manifestly, it was entered at a time when Bābur’s term *dim kūrūlāi* requires explanation in Hindustan. The writer of it himself does not make details clear; he says only, “It is manifest that people declare (the number) after counting the mounted army in the way agreed upon amongst them, with a whip or a bow held in the hand.” This explanation suggests that in the march-past the troops were measured off as so many bow- or whip-lengths (Index *s.n. dim*).

<sup>3</sup> These *arāba* may have been the baggage-carts of the army and also carts procured on the spot. Erskine omits (*Memoirs* p. 304) the words which show how many carts were collected and from whom. Doubtless it would be through not having these circumstances in his mind that he took the *arāba* for gun-carriages. His incomplete translation, again, led Stanley Lane-Poole to write an interesting note in his *Bābur* (p. 161) to support Erskine against de Courteille (with whose rendering mine agrees) by quoting the circumstance that Humāyūn had 700 guns at Qanauj in 1540 AD. It must be said in opposition to his support of Erskine’s “gun-carriages” that there is no textual or circumstantial warrant for supposing Bābur to have had guns, even if

to Ustād 'Alī-qulī was that these carts should be joined together in Ottoman<sup>1</sup> fashion, but using ropes of raw hide instead of chains, and that between every two carts 5 or 6 mantelets should be fixed, behind which the matchlockmen were to stand to fire. To allow of collecting all appliances, we delayed 5 or 6 days in that camp. When everything was ready, all the begs with such braves as had had experience in military affairs were summoned to a General Council where opinion found decision at this :— Pānī-pat<sup>2</sup> is there with its crowded houses and suburbs. It would be on one side of us ; our other sides must be protected by carts and mantelets behind which our foot and matchlockmen would stand. With so much settled we marched forward, halted one night on the way, and reached Pānī-pat on Thursday the last day (29th) of the second Jumāda (April 12th).

(u. *The opposed forces.*)

On our right was the town of Pānī-pat with its suburbs ; in front of us were the carts and mantelets we had prepared ; on our left and elsewhere were ditch and branch. At distances of an arrow's flight<sup>3</sup> sally-places were left for from 100 to 200 horsemen. Fol. 264b.

Some in the army were very anxious and full of fear. Nothing recommends anxiety and fear. For why? Because what God has fixed in eternity cannot be changed. But though this is so, it was no reproach to be afraid and anxious. For why? Because those thus anxious and afraid were there with a two or three months' journey between them and their homes ; our affair was

made in parts, in such number as to demand 700 gun-carriages for their transport. What guns Bābur had at Pānī-pat will have been brought from his Kābul base ; if he had acquired any, say from Lāhor, he would hardly omit to mention such an important reinforcement of his armament ; if he had brought many guns on carts from Kābul, he must have met with transit-difficulties harassing enough to chronicle, while he was making that long journey from Kābul to Pānī-pat, over passes, through skirt-hills and many fords. The elephants he had in Bigrām may have been his transport for what guns he had ; he does not mention his number at Pānī-pat ; he makes his victory a bow-man's success ; he can be read as indicating that he had two guns only.

<sup>1</sup> These Ottoman (text, *Rūmī*, Roman) defences Ustād 'Alī-qulī may have seen at the battle of Chāldīrān fought some 40 leagues from Tābrīz between Sl. Salīm *Rūmī* and Shāh Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* on Rajab 1st 920 AH. (Aug. 22nd 1514 AD.). Of this battle Khwānd-amīr gives a long account, dwelling on the effective use made in it of chained carts and palisades (*Ḥabībū's-siyar* iii, part 4, p. 78 ; *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 241).

<sup>2</sup> Is this the village of the Pānī Afghāns?

<sup>3</sup> Index *s. n.* arrow.

with a foreign tribe and people ; none knew their tongue, nor did they know ours :—

A wandering band, with mind awander ;  
In the grip of a tribe, a tribe unfamiliar.<sup>1</sup>

People estimated the army opposing us at 100,000 men ; Ibrāhīm's elephants and those of his amīrs were said to be about 1000. In his hands was the treasure of two forbears.<sup>2</sup> In Hīndūstān, when work such as this has to be done, it is customary to pay out money to hired retainers who are known as *b:d-hindā*.<sup>3</sup> If it had occurred to Ibrāhīm to do this, he might have had another *lak* or two of troops. God brought it right ! Ibrāhīm could neither content his braves, nor share out his treasure. How should he content his braves when he was ruled by avarice and had a craving insatiable to pile coin on coin ? He was an unproved brave<sup>4</sup> ; he provided nothing for his military operations, he perfected nothing, nor stand, nor move, nor fight.

Fol. 265.

In the interval at Pānī-pat during which the army was preparing defence on our every side with cart, ditch and branch, Darwish-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* had once said to me, "With such precautions taken, how is it possible for him to come ?" Said I, "Are you likening him to the Aūzbeḡ khāns and sulṭāns ?

<sup>1</sup> *Pareshān jam'ī u jam'ī pareshān ;*  
*Giriftār qaumī u qaumī 'ajd'ib.*

These two lines do not translate easily without the context of their original place of occurrence. I have not found their source.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* of his father and grandfather, Sikandar and Buhlāl.

<sup>3</sup> As to the form of this word the authoritative MSS. of the Turkī text agree and with them also numerous good ones of the Persian translation. I have made careful examination of the word because it is replaced or explained here and there in MSS. by *s:hb:nādī*, the origin of which is said to be obscure. The sense of *b:d-hindā* and of *s:hb:nādī* is the same, *i.e.* irregular levy. The word as Bābur wrote it must have been understood by earlier Indian scribes of both the Turkī and Persian texts of the *Bābur-nāma*. Some light on its correctness may be thought given by Hobson Jobson (Crooke's ed. p. 136) *s.n.* Byde or Bede Horse, where the word Byde is said to be an equivalent of *pindārī*, *lūtī*, and *qāssāq*, raider, plunderer, so that Bābur's word *b:d-hindā* may mean *qāssāq* of Hind. Wherever I have referred to the word in many MSS. it is pointed to read *b:d*, and not *p:d*, thus affording no warrant for understanding *pad*, foot, foot-man, infantry, and also negating the spelling *bīd*, *i.e.* with a long vowel as in *Byde*.

It may be noted here that Muḡ. *Shīrāzī* (p. 174) substituted *s:hb:nādī* for Bābur's word and that this led our friend the late William Irvine to attribute mistake to de Courteille who follows the Turkī text (*Army of the Mughūls* p. 66 and *Mémoires* ii, 163).

<sup>4</sup> *bī tajarba yīgūtī aīdī* of which the sense may be that Bābur ranked Ibrāhīm, as a soldier, with a brave who has not yet proved himself deserving of the rank of beg. It cannot mean that he was a youth (*yīgūtī*) without experience of battle.

In what of movement under arms or of planned operations is he to be compared with them?" God brought it right! Things fell out just as I said!

(*Author's note on the Aūzbeḡ chiefs.*) When I reached Ḥiṣār in the year I left Samarḡand (918 AH.—1512 AD.), and all the Aūzbeḡ khāns and sulṭāns gathered and came against us, we brought the families and the goods of the Mughūls and soldiers into the Ḥiṣār suburbs and fortified these by closing the lanes. As those khāns and sulṭāns were experienced in equipment, in planned operations, and in resolute resistance, they saw from our fortification of Ḥiṣār that we were determined on life or death within it, saw they could not count on taking it by assault and, therefore, retired at once from near Nūndāk of Chaghāniān.

(v. *Preliminary encounters.*)

During the 7 or 8 days we lay in Pānī-pat, our men used to go, a few together, close up to Ibrāhīm's camp, rain arrows down on his massed troops, cut off and bring in heads. Still he made no move; nor did his troops sally out. At length, we acted on the advice of several Hindūstānī well-wishers and sent out 4 or 5000 men to deliver a night-attack on his camp, the leaders of it being Mahdī Khwāja, Muḡammad Sl. Mirzā, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Khusrau, Shāh Mir Ḥusain, Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, 'Abdu'l-'azīz the Master of the Horse, Muḡ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Qūtlūq-qadam, Treasurer Walī, Khalifa's Muḡibb-i-'alī, Pay-master Muḡammad, Jān Beg and Qarā-qūzī. It being dark, they were not able to act together well, and, having scattered, could effect nothing on arrival. They stayed near Ibrāhīm's camp till dawn, when the nagarets sounded and troops of his came out in array with elephants. Though our men did not do their work, they got off safe and sound; not a man of them was killed, though they were in touch with such a mass of foes. One arrow pierced Muḡ. 'Alī *Jang-jang's* leg; though the wound was not mortal, he was good-for-nothing on the day of battle.

Fol. 265b.

On hearing of this affair, I sent off Humāyūn and his troops to go 2 or 3 miles to meet them, and followed him myself with the rest of the army in battle-array. The party of the night-attack joined him and came back with him. The enemy making no further advance, we returned to camp and dismounted. That night a false alarm fell on the camp; for some 20 minutes (one *garī*) there were uproar and call-to-arms; the disturbance died down after a time.

Fol. 266.



(w. *Battle of Pānī-pat*.<sup>1</sup>)

(*April 20th*) On Friday the 8th of Rajab,<sup>2</sup> news came, when it was light enough to distinguish one thing from another (*farz-waqtī*) that the enemy was advancing in fighting-array. We at once put on mail,<sup>3</sup> armed and mounted.<sup>4</sup> Our right was Humāyūn, Khwāja Kalān, Sulṭān Muḥammad *Dūldāī*, Hindū Beg, Treasurer Walī and Pīr-qulī *Sīstānī*; our left was Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, Mahdī Khwāja, ‘Ādil Sulṭān, Shāh Mīr Ḥusain, Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, Qūtlūq-qadam, Jān Beg, Pay-master Muḥammad, and Shah Ḥusain (of) Yāragī *Mughūl Ghānchī* (?).<sup>5</sup> The right hand of the centre<sup>6</sup> was Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān, Sulaimān Mīrzā,<sup>7</sup> Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, Shāh Mansūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-‘alī, Darwish-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* and ‘Abdu’l-lāh the librarian. The left of the centre was Khalifa, Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān, Secretary Aḥmadī, Tardī Beg (brother) of Qūj Beg, Khalifa’s Muḥibb-i-‘alī and Mīrzā Beg Tarkhān. The advance was Khusrāu Kūkūldāsh and Muḥ. ‘Alī *Jang-jang*. ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz

<sup>1</sup> Well-known are the three decisive historical battles fought near the town of Pānī-pat, *viz.* those of Bābur and Ibrāhīm in 1526, of Akbar and Hīmū in 1556, and of Aḥmad *Abdālī* with the Mahratta Confederacy in 1761. The following lesser particulars about the battle-field are not so frequently mentioned:—(i) that the scene of Bābur’s victory was long held to be haunted, Badāyūnī himself, passing it at dawn some 62 years later, heard with dismay the din of conflict and the shouts of the combatants; (ii) that Bābur built a (perhaps commemorative) mosque one mile to the n.e. of the town; (iii) that one of the unaccomplished desires of Sher Shāh *Sūr*, the conqueror of Bābur’s son Humāyūn, was to raise two monuments on the battle-field of Pānī-pat, one to Ibrāhīm, the other to those Chaghatāi sultāns whose martyrdom he himself had brought about; (iv) that in 1910 A.D. the British Government placed a monument to mark the scene of Shāh *Abdālī*’s victory of 1761 A.D. This monument would appear, from Sayyid Ghulam-i-‘alī’s *Nigār-nāma-i-hind*, to stand close to the scene of Bābur’s victory also, since the Mahrattas were entrenched as he was outside the town of Pānī-pat. (Cf. E. & D. viii, 401.)

<sup>2</sup> This important date is omitted from the L. & E. *Memoirs*.

<sup>3</sup> This wording will cover armour of man and horse.

<sup>4</sup> *ātlāndūk*, Pers. trs. *sūwār shudm*. Some later oriental writers locate Bābur’s battle at two or more miles from the town of Pānī-pat, and Bābur’s word *ātlāndūk* might imply that his cavalry rode forth and arrayed outside his defences, but his narrative allows of his delivering attack, through the wide sally-ports, after arraying behind the carts and *mantelets* which checked his adversary’s swift advance. The Mahrattas, who may have occupied the same ground as Bābur, fortified themselves more strongly than he did, as having powerful artillery against them. Aḥmad Shāh *Abdālī*’s defence against them was an ordinary ditch and *abbattis*, [Bābur’s ditch and branch,] mostly of *dhāk* trees (*Butea frondosa*), a local product Bābur also is likely to have used.

<sup>5</sup> The preceding three words seem to distinguish this Shāh Ḥusain from several others of his name and may imply that he was the son of Yāragī *Mughūl Ghānchī* (Index and I.O. 217 f. 184b l. 7).

<sup>6</sup> For Bābur’s terms *vide* f. 209b.

<sup>7</sup> This is Mīrzā Khān’s son, *i.e.* Wais *Mīrān-shāhī*’s.

the Master of the Horse was posted as the reserve. For the turning-party (*tūlghuma*) at the point of the right wing,<sup>1</sup> we fixed on Red Walī and Malik Qāsīm (brother) of Bābā *Qashqa*, with their Mughūls; for the turning-party at the point of the left wing, we arrayed Qarā-qūzī, Abū'l-muḥammad the lance-player, Shaikh Jamāl *Bārīn's* Shaikh 'Alī, Mahndī (?) and Tingrī-birdī *Bashaghī* (?) *Mughūl*; these two parties, directly the enemy got near, were to turn his rear, one from the right, the other from the left.

Fol. 266b.

When the dark mass of the enemy first came in sight, he seemed to incline towards our right; 'Abdu'l-'azīz, who was the right-reserve, was sent therefore to reinforce the right. From the time that Sl. Ibrāhīm's blackness first appeared, he moved swiftly, straight for us, without a check, until he saw the dark mass of our men, when he pulled up and, observing our formation and array,<sup>2</sup> made as if asking, "To stand or not? To advance or not?" They could not stand; nor could they make their former swift advance.

Our orders were for the turning-parties to wheel from right and left to the enemy's rear, to discharge arrows and to engage in the fight; and for the right and left (wings) to advance and join battle with him. The turning-parties wheeled round and began to rain arrows down. Mahdī Khwāja was the first of the left to engage; he was faced by a troop having an elephant with it; his men's flights of arrows forced it to retire. To reinforce the left I sent Secretary Aḥmadī and also Qūj Beg's Tardī Beg and Khalifa's Muḥibb-i-'alī. On the right also there was some stubborn fighting. Orders were given for Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh, Shāh Mansūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-lāh to engage those facing them in front of the centre. From that same position Ustād 'Alī-qulī made good discharge of *firingī* shots;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A dispute for this right-hand post of honour is recorded on f. 100b, as also in accounts of Culloden.

<sup>2</sup> *tartīb u yāsāl*, which may include, as Erskine took it to do, the carts and mantelets; of these however, Ibrāhīm can hardly have failed to hear before he rode out of camp.

<sup>3</sup> f. 217b and note; Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughuls* p. 133. Here Erskine notes (*Mems.* p. 306) "The size of these artillery at this time is very uncertain. The word *firingī* is now (1826 AD.) used in the Deccan for a swivel. At the present day, *zarb-zan* in common usage is a small species of swivel. Both words in Bābur's time

Fol. 267. Mustāfa the commissary for his part made excellent discharge of *zarb-zan* shots from the left hand of the centre. Our right, left, centre and turning-parties having surrounded the enemy, rained arrows down on him and fought ungrudgingly. He made one or two small charges on our right and left but under our men's arrows, fell back on his own centre. His right and left hands (*qūl*) were massed in such a crowd that they could neither move forward against us nor force a way for flight.

When the incitement to battle had come, the Sun was spear-high ; till mid-day fighting had been in full force ; noon passed, the foe was crushed in defeat, our friends rejoicing and gay. By God's mercy and kindness, this difficult affair was made easy for us ! In one half-day, that armed mass was laid upon the earth. Five or six thousand men were killed in one place close to Ibrāhīm. Our estimate of the other dead, lying all over the field, was 15 to 16,000, but it came to be known, later in Āgra from the statements of Hindūstānīs, that 40 or 50,000 may have died in that battle.<sup>1</sup>

The foe defeated, pursuit and unhorsing of fugitives began. Our men brought in amīrs of all ranks and the chiefs they captured ; *mahauts* made offering of herd after herd of elephants.

Fol. 267b. Ibrāhīm was thought to have fled ; therefore, while pursuing the enemy, we told off Qismatāī Mirzā, Bābā *chuhra* and Būjka of the *khaṣa-tābīn*<sup>2</sup> to lead swift pursuit to Āgra and try to take him. We passed through his camp, looked into his own enclosure (*sarācha*) and quarters, and dismounted on the bank of standing-water (*garā-sū*).

appear to have been used for field-cannon." (For an account of guns, intermediate in date between Bābur and Erskine, see the *Āyīn-i-akbarī*. Cf. f. 264 n. on the carts (*arāba*),)

<sup>1</sup> Although the authority of the *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afaghāna* is not weighty its reproduction of Afghān opinion is worth consideration. It says that astrologers foretold Ibrāhīm's defeat ; that his men, though greatly outnumbering Bābur's, were out-of-heart through his ill-treatment of them, and his amīrs in displeasure against him, but that never-the-less, the conflict at Pānī-pat was more desperate than had ever been seen. It states that Ibrāhīm fell where his tomb now is (*i.e.* in *circa* 1002 AH.-1594 AD.) ; that Bābur went to the spot and, prompted by his tender heart, lifted up the head of his dead adversary, and said, "Honour to your courage !", ordered brocade and sweetmeats made ready, enjoined Dilāwar Khān and Khalīfa to bathe the corpse and to bury it where it lay (E. & D. v, 2). Naturally, part of the reverence shewn to the dead would be the burial together of head and trunk.

<sup>2</sup> f. 209b and App. H. section c. Bābā *chuhra* would be one of the corps of braves.

It was the Afternoon Prayer when Khalīfa's younger brother-in-law Tāhir Tibrī<sup>1</sup> who had found Ibrāhīm's body in a heap of dead, brought in his head.

(x. *Detachments sent to occupy Dihlī and Āgra.*)

On that very same day we appointed Humāyūn Mīrzā<sup>2</sup> to ride fast and light to Āgra with Khwāja Kalān, Muḥammadī, Shāh Mansūr *Barlās*, Yūnas-i-'alī, 'Abdu'l-lah and Treasurer Walī, to get the place into their hands and to mount guard over the treasure. We fixed on Mahdī Khwāja, with Muḥammad Sl. Mīrza, 'Ādil Sulṭān, Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and Qūtlūq-qadam to leave their baggage, make sudden incursion on Dihlī, and keep watch on the treasuries.<sup>3</sup>

(*April 21st*) We marched on next day and when we had gone 2 miles, dismounted, for the sake of the horses, on the bank of the Jūn (Jumna).

(*April 24th*) On Tuesday (Rajab 12th), after we had halted on two nights and had made the circuit of Shaikh Nizāmu'd-dīn *Auliya's* tomb<sup>4</sup> we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn over against Dihlī.<sup>5</sup> That same night, being Wednesday-eve, we made an excursion into the fort of Dihlī and there spent the night.

(*April 25th*) Next day (Wednesday Rajab 13th) I made the circuit of Khwāja Quṭbu'd-dīn's<sup>6</sup> tomb and visited the tombs and residences of Sl. Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn *Balban*<sup>7</sup> and Sl. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn

<sup>1</sup> He was a brother of Muḥibb-i-'alī's mother.

<sup>2</sup> To give Humāyūn the title Mīrzā may be a scribe's lapse, but might also be a nuance of Bābur's, made to shew, with other *minutiae*, that Humāyūn was in chief command. The other minute matters are that instead of Humāyūn's name being the first of a simple series of commanders' names with the enclitic accusative appended to the last one (here Walī), as is usual, Humāyūn's name has its own enclitic *nī*; and, again, the phrase is "*Humāyūn with*" such and such begs, a turn of expression differentiating him from the rest. The same unusual variations occur again, just below, perhaps with the same intention of shewing chief command, there of Mahdī Khwāja.

<sup>3</sup> A small matter of wording attracts attention in the preceding two sentences. Bābur, who does not always avoid verbal repetition, here constructs two sentences which, except for the place-names Dihlī and Āgra, convey information of precisely the same action in entirely different words.

<sup>4</sup> d. 1325 AD. The places Bābur visited near Dihlī are described in the *Reports of the Indian Archaeological Survey*, in Sayyid Ahmad's *Aṣṣār Sanādīd* pp. 74-85, in Keene's *Hand-book to Dihlī* and Murray's *Hand-book to Bengal etc.* The last two quote much from the writings of Cunningham and Fergusson.

<sup>5</sup> and on the same side of the river.

<sup>6</sup> d. 1235 AD. He was a native of Aūsh [Ush] in Farghāna.

<sup>7</sup> d. 1286 AD. He was a Slave ruler of Dihlī.

Fol. 268. *Khiljī*,<sup>1</sup> his Minār, and the Hauz-shamsī, Hauz-i-khaṣ and the tombs and gardens of Sl. Buhlūl and Sl. Sikandar (*Lūdī*). Having done this, we dismounted at the camp, went on a boat, and there 'araq was drunk.

We bestowed the Military Collectorate (*shiqdārīghī*) of Dihlī on Red Walī, made Dost Dīwān in the Dihlī district, sealed the treasuries, and made them over to their charge.

(*April 26th*) On Thursday we dismounted on the bank of the Jūn, over against Tūghlūqābād.<sup>2</sup>

(*y. The khuṭba read for Bābur in Dihlī.*)

(*April 27th*) On Friday (Rajab 15th) while we remained on the same ground, Maulānā Maḥmūd and Shaikh Zain went with a few others into Dihlī for the Congregational Prayer, read the *khuṭba* in my name, distributed a portion of money to the poor and needy,<sup>3</sup> and returned to camp.

(*April 28th*) Leaving that ground on Saturday (Rajab 16th), we advanced march by march for Āgra. I made an excursion to Tūghlūqābād and rejoined the camp.

(*May 4th*) On Friday (Rajab 22nd), we dismounted at the mansion (*manzil*) of Sulaimān *Farnulī* in a suburb of Āgra, but as the place was far from the fort, moved on the following day to Jalāl Khān *Jig:hat's* house.

On Humāyūn's arrival at Āgra, ahead of us, the garrison had made excuses and false pretexts (about surrender). He and his noticing the want of discipline there was, said, "The long hand may be laid on the Treasury"! and so sat down to watch the roads out of Āgra till we should come.

<sup>1</sup> 'Alāu'u'd-dīn Muḥ. Shāh *Khiljī Turk* d. 1316 AD. It is curious that Bābur should specify visiting his Minār (*minārī*, Pers. trs. I.O. 217 f. 185b, *minār-i-au*) and not mention the Quṭb Minār. Possibly he confused the two. The 'Alāi Minār remains unfinished; the Quṭb is judged by Cunningham to have been founded by Quṭbu'd-dīn Aibak *Turk*, circa 1200 AD. and to have been completed by Sl. Shamsu'd-dīn Altamsh (Ailtimish?) *Turk*, circa 1220 AD. Of the two tanks Bābur visited, the Royal-tank (*hauz-i-khāṣ*) was made by 'Alāu'u'd-dīn in 1293 AD.

<sup>2</sup> The familiar Turkī word Tūghlūq would reinforce much else met with in Dihlī to strengthen Bābur's opinion that, as a Turk, he had a right to rule there. Many, if not all, of the Slave dynasty were Turks; these were followed by the Khiljī Turks, these again by the Tūghlūqs. Moreover the Panj-āb he had himself taken, and lands on both sides of the Indus further south had been ruled by Ghaznawid Turks. His latest conquests were "where the Turk had ruled" (f. 226b) long, wide, and with interludes only of non-Turkī sway.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps this charity was the *Kḥams* (Fifth) due from a victor.

*(z. The great diamond.)*

In Sultan Ibrāhīm's defeat the Rāja of Gūālīār Bikramājīt the Hindū had gone to hell.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 268b.

*(Author's note on Bikramājīt.)* The ancestors of Bikramājīt had ruled in Gūālīār for more than a hundred years.<sup>2</sup> Sikandar (*Lūdī*) had sat down in Āgra for several years in order to take the fort; later on, in Ibrāhīm's time, 'Azīm Humāyūn *Sarwānī*<sup>3</sup> had completely invested it for some while; following this, it was taken on terms under which Shamsābād was given in exchange for it.<sup>4</sup>

Bikramājīt's children and family were in Āgra at the time of Ibrāhīm's defeat. When Humāyūn reached Āgra, they must have been planning to flee, but his postings of men (to watch the roads) prevented this and guard was kept over them. Humāyūn himself did not let them go (*bārg'hālī qūīmās*). They made him a voluntary offering of a mass of jewels and valuables amongst which was the famous diamond which 'Alāu'u'd-dīn must have brought.<sup>5</sup> Its reputation is that every appraiser has estimated its value at two and a half days' food for the whole world. Apparently it weighs 8 *mişqāls*.<sup>6</sup> Humāyūn offered it to me when I arrived at Āgra; I just gave it him back.

*(aa. Ibrāhīm's mother and entourage.)*

Amongst men of mark who were in the fort, there were Malik Dād *Karānī*, Millī *Sūrdūk* and Fīrūz Khān *Mīwātī*. They, being convicted of false dealing, were ordered out for capital punishment. Several persons interceded for Malik Dād *Karānī* and four or five days passed in comings and goings before the

<sup>1</sup> Bikramājīt was a Tūnūr Rājput. Bābur's unhesitating statement of the Hindu's destination at death may be called a fruit of conviction, rather than of what modern opinion calls intolerance.

<sup>2</sup> 120 years (Cunningham's *Report of the Archaeological Survey* ii, 330 *et seq.*)

<sup>3</sup> The *Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī* tells a good deal about the man who bore this title, and also about others who found themselves now in difficulty between Ibrāhīm's tyranny and Bābur's advance (E. & D. iv, 301).

<sup>4</sup> Gūālīār was taken from Bikramājīt in 1518 AD.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* from the Deccan of which 'Alāu'u'd-dīn is said to have been the first Muhammadan invader. An account of this diamond, identified as the Koh-i-nūr, is given in *Hobson Jobson* but its full history is not told by Yule or by Streeter's *Great Diamonds of the World*, neither mentioning the presentation of the diamond by Humāyūn to Taḥmāsp of which Abū'l-faḡl writes, dwelling on its overplus of payment for all that Humāyūn in exile received from his Persian host (*Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 349 and note; *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April 1899 H. Beveridge's art. *Bābur's diamond; was it the Koh-i-nūr?*).

<sup>6</sup> 320 *ratīs* (Erskine). The *ratī* is 2.171 Troy grains, or in picturesque primitive equivalents, is 8 grains of rice, or 64 mustard seeds, or 512 poppy-seeds,—uncertain weights which Akbar fixed in cat's-eye stones.

matter was arranged. We then shewed to them (all?) kindness and favour in agreement with the petition made for them, and we restored them all their goods.<sup>1</sup> A *pargana* worth 7 *laks*<sup>2</sup> was bestowed on Ibrāhīm's mother; *parganas* were given also to these begs of his.<sup>3</sup> She was sent out of the fort with her old servants and given encamping-ground (*yūrt*) two miles below Āgra.

Fol. 269.

(*May 10th*) I entered Āgra at the Afternoon Prayer of Thursday (Rajab 28th) and dismounted at the mansion (*mansil*) of Sl. Ibrāhīm.

## EXPEDITIONS OF TRAMONTANE MUḤAMMADANS INTO HIND.

(*a. Bābur's five attempts on Hindūstān.*)

From the date 910 at which the country of Kābul was conquered, down to now (932 AH.) (my) desire for Hindūstān had been constant, but owing sometimes to the feeble counsels of begs, sometimes to the non-accompaniment of elder and younger brethren,<sup>4</sup> a move on Hindūstān had not been practicable and its territories had remained unsubdued. At length no such obstacles were left; no beg, great or small (*beg begāt*) of lower birth,<sup>5</sup> could speak an opposing word. In 925 AH. (1519 AD.) we led an army out and, after taking Bajaur by storm in 2-3 *garī* (44-66 minutes), and making a general massacre of its people, went on into Bhīra. Bhīra we neither over-ran nor plundered; we imposed a ransom on its people, taking from them in money and goods to the value

<sup>1</sup> Bābur's plurals allow the supposition that the three men's lives were spared. Malik Dād served him thenceforth.

<sup>2</sup> Erskine estimated these as *dams* and worth about £1750, but this may be an underestimate (*H. of I.* i, App. E.).

<sup>3</sup> "These begs of his" (or hers) may be the three written of above.

<sup>4</sup> These will include cousins and his half-brothers Jahāngīr and Nāṣir as opposing before he took action in 925 AH. (1519 AD.). The time between 910 AH. and 925 AH. at which he would most desire Hindūstān is after 920 AH. in which year he returned defeated from Transoxiana.

<sup>5</sup> *kichik kavīm*, which here seems to make contrast between the ruling birth of members of his own family and the lower birth of even great begs still with him. Where the phrase occurs on f. 295, Erskine renders it by "down to the dregs", and de Courteille (ii, 235) by "*de toutes les bouches*" but neither translation appears to me to suit Bābur's uses of the term, inasmuch as both seem to go too low (cf. f. 270b).

of 4 *laks* of *shāhrukhs* and having shared this out to the army and auxiliaries, returned to Kābul. From then till now we laboriously held tight<sup>1</sup> to Hindūstān, five times leading an army into it.<sup>2</sup> The fifth time, God the Most High, by his own mercy and favour, made such a foe as Sl. Ibrāhīm the vanquished and loser, such a realm as Hindūstān our conquest and possession.

(*b. Three invaders from Tramontana.*)

From the time of the revered Prophet down till now<sup>3</sup> three men from that side<sup>4</sup> have conquered and ruled Hindūstān. Sl. Maḥmūd *Ghāzi*<sup>5</sup> was the first, who and whose descendants sat long on the seat of government in Hindūstān. Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn of Ghūr was the second,<sup>6</sup> whose slaves and dependants royally shepherded<sup>7</sup> this realm for many years. I am the third. Fol. 269b.

But my task was not like the task of those other rulers. For why? Because Sl. Maḥmūd, when he conquered Hindūstān, had the throne of Khurāsān subject to his rule, vassal and obedient to him were the sultāns of Khwārizm and the Marches (*Dāru'l-marā*), and under his hand was the ruler of Samarkand. Though his army may not have numbered 2 *laks*, what question is there that it<sup>8</sup> was one. Then again, rājas were his opponents; all Hindūstān was not under one supreme head (*pādshāh*), but each rāja ruled independently in his own country. Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn again, —though he himself had no rule in Khurāsān, his elder brother Ghiyāshu'd-dīn had it. The *Tabaqāt-i-nāsiri*<sup>9</sup> brings it forward

<sup>1</sup> *āiūrūshūb*, Pers. trs. *chaspidā*, stuck to.

<sup>2</sup> The first expedition is fixed by the preceding passage as in 925 AH. which was indeed the first time a passage of the Indus is recorded. Three others are found recorded, those of 926, 930 and 932 AH. Perhaps the fifth was not led by Bābur in person, and may be that of his troops accompanying 'Ālam Khān in 931 AH. But he may count into the set of five, the one made in 910 AH. which he himself meant to cross the Indus. Various opinions are found expressed by European writers as to the dates of the five.

<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad died 632 AD. (11 AH.).

<sup>4</sup> Tramontana, n. of Hindū-kush. For particulars about the dynasties mentioned by Bābur see Stanley Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*.

<sup>5</sup> Maḥmūd of Ghazni, a Turk by race, d. 1030 AD. (421 AH.).

<sup>6</sup> known as Muḥ. *Ghūrī*, d. 1206 AD. (602 AH.).

<sup>7</sup> *sūrūbtūrlār*, lit. drove them like sheep (cf. f. 154b).

<sup>8</sup> *khūd*, itself, not Bābur's only Hibernianism.

<sup>9</sup> "This is an excellent history of the Musalmān world down to the time of Sl. Nāsir of Dihlī A.D. 1252. It was written by Abū 'Umar Minhāj al Jūrjāni. See Stewart's catalogue of Tipoo's Library, p. 7" (Erskine). It has been translated by Raverty.



that he once led into Hindūstān an army of 120,000 men and horse in mail.<sup>1</sup> His opponents also were rāīs and rājas ; one man did not hold all Hindūstān.

Fol. 270. That time we came to Bhīra, we had at most some 1500 to 2000 men. We had made no previous move on Hindūstān with an army equal to that which came the fifth time, when we beat Sl. Ibrāhīm and conquered the realm of Hindūstān, the total written down for which, taking one retainer with another, and with traders and servants, was 12,000. Dependent on me were the countries of Badakhshān, Qūndūz, Kābul and Qandahār, but no reckonable profit came from them, rather it was necessary to reinforce them fully because several lie close to an enemy. Then again, all Māwarā'u'n-nahr was in the power of the Aūzbeḡ khāns and sultāns, an ancient foe whose armies counted up to 100,000. Moreover Hindūstān, from Bhīra to Bihār, was in the power of the Afghāns and in it Sl. Ibrāhīm was supreme. In proportion to his territory his army ought to have been 5 *laks*, but at that time the Eastern amīrs were in hostility to him. His army was estimated at 100,000 and people said his elephants and those of his amīrs were 1000.

Under such conditions, in this strength, and having in my rear 100,000 old enemies such as are the Aūzbegs, we put trust in God and faced the ruler of such a dense army and of domains so wide. As our trust was in Him, the most high God did not make our labour and hardships vain, but defeated that powerful foe and conquered that broad realm. Not as due to strength and effort of our own do we look upon this good fortune, but as had solely through God's pleasure and kindness. We know that this happiness was not the fruit of our own ambition and resolve, but that it was purely from His mercy and favour.

## DESCRIPTION OF HINDŪSTĀN.

(*a. Hindūstān.*)

Fol. 270b. The country of Hindūstān is extensive, full of men, and full of produce. On the east, south, and even on the west, it ends at its great enclosing ocean (*mukhiṭ daryā-sī-gha*). On the north

<sup>1</sup> *barḡustwān-wār* ; Erskine, cataphract horse.

it has mountains which connect with those of Hindū-kush, Kāfiristān and Kashmīr. North-west of it lie Kābul, Ghaznī and Qandahār. Dihlī is held (*āīrīmīsh*) to be the capital of the whole of Hindūstān. From the death of Shihābu'd-dīn *Ghūrī* (d. 602 A.H.—1206 AD.) to the latter part of the reign of Sl. Firūz Shāh (*Tūghlūq Turk* d. 790 A.H.—1388 AD.), the greater part of Hindūstān must have been under the rule of the sulṭāns of Dihlī.

(*b. Rulers contemporary with Bābur's conquest.*)

At the date of my conquest of Hindūstān it was governed by five Musalmān rulers (*pādshāh*)<sup>1</sup> and two Pagans (*kāfir*). These were the respected and independent rulers, but there were also, in the hills and jungles, many rāis and rājas, held in little esteem (*kīchīk karīm*).

First, there were the Afghāns who had possession of Dihlī, the capital, and held the country from Bhīra to Bihār. Jūnpūr, before their time, had been in possession of Sl. Ḥusain *Sharqī* (Eastern)<sup>2</sup> whose dynasty Hindūstānis call Pūrabī (Eastern). His ancestors will have been cup-bearers in the presence of Sl. Firūz Shāh and those (*Tūghlūq*) sulṭāns; they became supreme in Jūnpūr after his death.<sup>3</sup> At that time Dihlī was in the hands of Sl. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn ('Ālam Khān) of the Sayyid dynasty to whose ancestor Tīmūr Beg had given it when, after having captured it, he went away.<sup>4</sup> Sl. Buhlūl *Lūdī* and his son (Sikandar) got possession of the capital Jūnpūr and the capital Dihlī, and brought both under one government (881 A.H.—1476 AD.).

Secondly, there was Sl. Muḥammad Muẓaffer in Gujrāt; he departed from the world a few days before the defeat of Sl. Ibrāhīm. He was skilled in the Law, a ruler (*pādshāh*) seeking after knowledge, and a constant copyist of the Holy Book. His dynasty people call Tānk.<sup>5</sup> His ancestors also will have been

Fol. 271.

<sup>1</sup> The numerous instances of the word *pādshāh* in this part of the *Bābur-nāma* imply no such distinction as attaches to the title Emperor by which it is frequently translated (Index *s.n.* *pādshāh*).

<sup>2</sup> d. 1500 AD. (905 A.H.).

<sup>3</sup> d. 1388 AD. (790 A.H.).

<sup>4</sup> The ancestor mentioned appears to be Naṣrat Shāh, a grandson of Firūz Shāh *Tūghlūq* (S. L.-Poole p. 300 and Beale, 298).

<sup>5</sup> His family belonged to the Rājput sept of Tānk, and had become Muḥammadan in the person of Sadharān the first ruler of Gujrāt (Crooke's *Tribes and Castes; Mirāt-i-sikandarī*, Bayley p. 67 and n.).

wine-servers to Sl. Fīrūz Shāh and those (Tūghlūq) sultāns ; they became possessed of Gujrāt after his death.

Thirdly, there were the Bāhmanīs of the Dakkan (Deccan, *i.e.* South), but at the present time no independent authority is left them ; their great begs have laid hands on the whole country, and must be asked for whatever is needed.<sup>1</sup>

Fourthly, there was Sl. Maḥmūd in the country of Malwā, which people call also Mandāū.<sup>2</sup> His dynasty they call Khilij (*Turk*). Rānā Sangā had defeated Sl. Maḥmūd and taken possession of most of his country. This dynasty also has become feeble. Sl. Maḥmūd's ancestors also must have been cherished by Sl. Fīrūz Shāh ; they became possessed of the Malwā country after his death.<sup>3</sup>

Fifthly, there was Naṣrat Shāh<sup>4</sup> in the country of Bengal. His father (Ḥusain Shah), a sayyid styled 'Alāu'ud-dīn, had ruled in Bengal and Naṣrat Shāh attained to rule by inheritance. A surprising custom in Bengal is that hereditary succession is rare. The royal office is permanent and there are permanent offices of amīrs, wazīrs and maṣab-dārs (officials). It is the office that Bengalis regard with respect. Attached to each office is a body of obedient, subordinate retainers and servants. If the royal heart demand that a person should be dismissed and another be appointed to sit in his place, the whole body of subordinates attached to that office become the (new) office-holder's. There is indeed this peculiarity of the royal office itself that any person who kills the ruler (*pādshāh*) and seats himself on the throne, becomes ruler himself ; amīrs, wazīrs, soldiers and peasants submit to him at once, obey him, and recognize him for the rightful ruler his predecessor in office had been.<sup>5</sup> Bengalis say, "We are faithful to the throne ; we loyally

Fol. 271b.

<sup>1</sup> S. L.-Poole p. 316-7.

<sup>2</sup> Mandāū (Mandū) was the capital of Malwā.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley Lane-Poole shews (p. 311) a dynasty of three Ghūris interposed between the death of Fīrūz Shāh in 790 A.H. and the accession in 839 A.H. of the first Khilij ruler of Gujrāt Maḥmūd Shāh.

<sup>4</sup> He reigned from 1518 to 1532 A.D. (925 to 939 A.H. S.L.-P. p. 308) and had to wife a daughter of Ibrāhīm Lūḍī (*Riyāzī's-salāḥīn*). His dynasty was known as the Ḥusain-shāhī, after his father.

<sup>5</sup> "Strange as this custom may seem, a similar one prevailed down to a very late period in Malabar. There was a jubilee every 12 years in the Samorin's country, and any-one who succeeded in forcing his way through the Samorin's guards and slew

obey whoever occupies it." As for instance, before the reign of Naṣrat Shāh's father 'Alāu'u'd-dīn, an Abyssinian (*Habshī*, named Muẓaffar Shāh) had killed his sovereign (Maḥmūd Shāh *Ilyās*), mounted the throne and ruled for some time. 'Alāu'u'd-dīn killed that Abyssinian, seated himself on the throne and became ruler. When he died, his son (Naṣrat) became ruler by inheritance. Another Bengali custom is to regard it as a disgraceful fault in a new ruler if he expend and consume the treasure of his predecessors. On coming to rule he must gather treasure of his own. To amass treasure Bengalis regard as a glorious distinction. Another custom in Bengal is that from ancient times *parganas* have been assigned to meet the charges of the treasury, stables, and all royal expenditure and to defray these charges no impost is laid on other lands.

These five, mentioned above, were the great Musalmān rulers, honoured in Hindūstān, many-legged, and broad-landed. Of the Pagans the greater both in territory and army, is the Rāja of Bījānagar.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 272.

The second is Rānā Sangā who in these latter days had grown great by his own valour and sword. His original country was Chitūr; in the downfall from power of the Mandāu sulṭān, he became possessed of many of their dependencies such as Rantanbūr, Sārāngpūr, Bhīlsān and Chandīrī. Chandīrī I stormed in 934 AH. (1528 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> and, by God's pleasure, took it in a few hours; in it was Rānā Sangā's great and trusted man Midnī

him, reigned in his stead. 'A jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the end of 12 years, and a tent is pitched for him in a spacious plain, and a great feast is celebrated for 10 or 12 days with mirth and jollity, guns firing night and day, so, at the end of the feast, any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a throne by a desperate action in fighting their way through 30 or 40,000 of his guards, and kill the Samorin in his tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his empire.' See Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies* vol. i. p. 309. The attempt was made in 1695, and again a very few years ago, but without success" (Erskine p. 311).

The custom Bābur writes of—it is one dealt with at length in Frazer's *Golden Bough*—would appear from Blochmann's *Geography and History of Bengal* (JASB 1873 p. 286) to have been practised by the Habshī rulers of Bengal of whom he quotes Faria y Souza as saying, "They observe no rule of inheritance from father to son, but even slaves sometimes obtain it by killing their master, and whoever holds it three days, they look upon as established by divine providence. Thus it fell out that in 40 years space they had 13 kings successively."

<sup>1</sup> No doubt this represents Vijāyanagar in the Deccan.

<sup>2</sup> This date places the composition of the *Description of Hindustan* in agreement with Shaikh Zain's statement that it was in writing in 935 AH.

Rāo ; we made general massacre of the Pagans in it and, as will be narrated, converted what for many years had been a mansion of hostility, into a mansion of Islām.

There are very many rāis and rājas on all sides and quarters of Hindūstān, some obedient to Islām, some, because of their remoteness or because their places are fastnesses, not subject to Musalmān rule.

(c. *Of Hindūstān.*)

Hindūstān is of the first climate, the second climate, and the third climate ; of the fourth climate it has none. It is a wonderful country. Compared with our countries it is a different world ; its mountains, rivers, jungles and deserts, its towns, its cultivated lands, its animals and plants, its peoples and their tongues, its rains, and its winds, are all different. In some respects the hot-country (*garm-sīl*) that depends on Kābul, is like Hindūstān, but in others, it is different. Once the water of Sind is crossed, everything is in the Hindūstān way (*ṭāriq*) land, water, tree, rock, people and horde, opinion and custom.

Fol. 272b.

(d. *Of the northern mountains.*)

After crossing the Sind-river (eastwards), there are countries, in the northern mountains mentioned above, appertaining to Kashmīr and once included in it, although most of them, as for example, Paklī and Shahmang (?), do not now obey it. Beyond Kashmīr there are countless peoples and hordes, *parganas* and cultivated lands, in the mountains. As far as Bengal, as far indeed as the shore of the great ocean, the peoples are without break. About this procession of men no-one has been able to give authentic information in reply to our enquiries and investigations. So far people have been saying that they call these hill-men *Kas*.<sup>1</sup> It has struck me that as a Hindūstānī pronounces *shīn* as *sīn* (*i.e.* *sh* as *s*), and as Kashmīr is the one respectable town in these mountains, no other indeed being heard of, Hindūstānis might pronounce it Kasmīr.<sup>2</sup> These

<sup>1</sup> Are they the Khas of Nepal and Sikkim ? (G. of I.)

<sup>2</sup> Here Erskine notes that the Persian (trs.) adds, "*mīr* signifying a hill, and *kas* being the name of the natives of the hill-country." This may not support the name *kas* as correct but may be merely an explanation of Bābur's meaning. It is not in I.O. 217 f. 189 or in Muḥ. *Shīrāzī*'s lithographed *Wāqī'āt-i-bāburī* p. 190.

people trade in musk-bags, *b:hrī-qūṭās*,<sup>1</sup> saffron, lead and copper.

Hindīs call these mountains Sawālak-parbat. In the Hindi tongue *sawāi-lak* means one lak and a quarter, that is, 125,000, and *parbat* means a hill, which makes 125,000 hills.<sup>2</sup> The snow on these mountains never lessens; it is seen white from many districts of Hind, as, for example, Lāhor, Sihrind and Saṃbal. The range, which in Kābul is known as Hindū-kush, comes from Kābul eastwards into Hindūstān, with slight inclination to the south. The Hindūstānāt<sup>3</sup> are to the south of it. Tibet lies to the north of it and of that unknown horde called Kas.

Fol. 273.

(e. *Of rivers.*)

Many rivers rise in these mountains and flow through Hindūstān. Six rise north of Sihrind, namely Sind, Bahat (Jīlam), Chān-āb [*sic*], Rāwī, Bīāh, and Sutluj<sup>4</sup>; all meet near Multān, flow westwards under the name of Sind, pass through the Tatta country and fall into the 'Umān(-sea).

Besides these six there are others, such as Jūn (Jumna), Gang (Ganges), Rahap (Rapti?), Gūmtī, Gagar (Ghaggar), Sīrū, Gandak, and many more; all unite with the Gang-daryā, flow east under its name, pass through the Bengal country, and are poured into the great ocean. They all rise in the Sawālak-parbat.

Many rivers rise in the Hindūstān hills, as, for instance, Chāmbal, Banās, Bītwī, and Sūn (Son). There is no snow whatever on these mountains. Their waters also join the Gang-daryā.

(f. *Of the Arāvallī.*)

Another Hindūstān range runs north and south. It begins in the Dihlī country at a small rocky hill on which is Fīrūz Shāh's residence, called Jahān-namā,<sup>5</sup> and, going on from there, appears near Dihlī in detached, very low, scattered here and there, rocky

<sup>1</sup> Either yak or the tassels of the yak. See Appendix M.

<sup>2</sup> My husband tells me that Bābur's authority for this interpretation of Sawālak may be the *Zafar-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. ii, 149).

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the countries of Hindūstān.

<sup>4</sup> so pointed, carefully, in the Hai. MS. Mr. Erskine notes of these rivers that they are the Indus, Hydaspes, Ascines, Hydraotes, Hesudrus and Hyphasis.

<sup>5</sup> *Āyīn-i-akbarī*, Jarrett 279.

Fol. 273<sup>b</sup>. little hills.<sup>1</sup> Beyond Mīwāt, it enters the Bīāna country. The hills of Sīkrī, Bārī and Dūlpūr are also part of this same including (*tūtā*) range. The hills of Gūālīār—they write it Gālīūr—although they do not connect with it, are off-sets of this range ; so are the hills of Rantanbūr, Chitūr, Chandīrī, and Mandāū. They are cut off from it in some places by 7 to 8 *kurohs* (14 to 16 m.). These hills are very low, rough, rocky and jungly. No snow whatever falls on them. They are the makers, in Hindūstān, of several rivers.

(*g. Irrigation.*)

The greater part of the Hindūstān country is situated on level land. Many though its towns and cultivated lands are, it nowhere has running waters.<sup>2</sup> Rivers and, in some places, standing-waters are its “running-waters” (*āqār-sūlār*). Even where, as for some towns, it is practicable to convey water by digging channels (*āriq*), this is not done. For not doing it there may be several reasons, one being that water is not at all a necessity in cultivating crops and orchards. Autumn crops grow by the downpour of the rains themselves ; and strange it is that spring crops grow even when no rain falls. To young trees water is made to flow by means of buckets or a wheel. They are given water constantly during two or three years ; after which they need no more. Some vegetables are watered constantly.

Fol. 274. In Lāhor, Dībālpūr and those parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of the well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The ropes with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel-axle a second wheel is fixed, and close (*qāsh*) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns ; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second, and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where the water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere.

<sup>1</sup> *pārcha pārcha, kichīkerūk kichīkerūk, āndā mūdā, tāshlūq tāghhīna*. The Gazetteer of India (1907 I, 1) puts into scientific words, what Bābur here describes, the ruin of a great former range.

<sup>2</sup> Here *āqār-sūlār* might safely be replaced by “irrigation channels” (Index *s.n.*).

In Āgra, Chandwār, Bīāna and those parts, again, people water with a bucket ; this is a laborious and filthy way. At the well-edge they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bullock. One person must drive the bullock, another empty the bucket. Every time the bullock turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track, in pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry it by repeated efforts in pitchers.<sup>1</sup>

(h. *Other particulars about Hindūstān.*)

The towns and country of Hindūstān are greatly wanting in charm. Its towns and lands are all of one sort ; there are no walls to the orchards (*bāghāt*), and most places are on the dead level plain. Under the monsoon-rains the banks of some of its rivers and torrents are worn into deep channels, difficult and troublesome to pass through anywhere. In many parts of the plains thorny jungle grows, behind the good defence of which the people of the *pargana* become stubbornly rebellious and pay no taxes.

Fol. 274b.

Except for the rivers and here and there standing-waters, there is little "running-water". So much so is this that towns and countries subsist on the water of wells or on such as collects in tanks during the rains.

In Hindūstān hamlets and villages, towns indeed, are depopulated and set up in a moment ! If the people of a large town, one inhabited for years even, flee from it, they do it in such a way that not a sign or trace of them remains in a day or a day and a half.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, if they fix their eyes on

<sup>1</sup> The verb here is *tāshmāg* ; it also expresses to carry like ants (f. 220), presumably from each person's carrying a pitcher or a stone at a time, and repeatedly.

<sup>2</sup> "This" notes Erskine (p. 315) "is the *wulsa* or *walsa*, so well described by Colonel Wilks in his Historical Sketches vol. i. p. 309, note 'On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found,) exempt from the miseries of war ; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy, and if this should be



a place in which to settle, they need not dig water-courses or construct dams because their crops are all rain-grown,<sup>1</sup> and as the population of Hindūstān is unlimited, it swarms in. They make a tank or dig a well; they need not build houses or set up walls—*khas*-grass (*Andropogon muricatum*) abounds, wood is unlimited, huts are made, and straightway there is a village or a town!

(i. *Fauna of Hindūstān* :—*Mammals*.)

The elephant, which Hindūstānīs call *hāt(h)ī*, is one of the wild animals peculiar to Hindūstān. It inhabits the (western?) borders of the Kālpi country, and becomes more numerous in its wild state the further east one goes (in Kālpi?). From this tract it is that captured elephants are brought; in Karrah and Mānikpūr elephant-catching is the work of 30 or 40 villages.<sup>2</sup> People answer (*jawāb bīrūrlār*) for them direct to the exchequer.<sup>3</sup> The elephant is an immense animal and very sagacious. If people speak to it, it understands; if they command anything from it, it does it. Its value is according to its size; it is sold by measure (*qārīlāb*); the larger it is, the higher its price. People protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.' See the note itself. The Historical Sketches should be read by every-one who desires to have an accurate idea of the South of India. It is to be regretted that we do not possess the history of any other part of India, written with the same knowledge or research."

"The word *wulsa* or *walsa* is Dravidian. Telugu has *valasa*, 'emigration, flight, or removing from home for fear of a hostile army.'<sup>1</sup> Kanarese has *valasē, ḍlasē*, and *ḍlisē*, 'flight, a removing from home for fear of a hostile army.' Tamil has *valasei*, 'flying for fear, removing hastily.' The word is an interesting one. I feel pretty sure it is not Aryan, but Dravidian; and yet it stands alone in Dravidian, with nothing that I can find in the way of a root or affinities to explain its etymology. Possibly it may be a borrowed word in Dravidian. Malayalam has no corresponding word. Can it have been borrowed from Kolarian or other primitive Indian speech?" (Letter to H. Beveridge from Mr. F. E. Pargiter, 8th August, 1914.)

*Wulsa* seems to be a derivative from Sanscrit *ūvash*, and to answer to Persian *wairānī* and Turki *būziḡhūghī*.

<sup>1</sup> *lalmī*, which in Afghānī (Pushtū) signifies grown without irrigation.

<sup>2</sup> "The improvement of Hindūstān since Bābur's time must be prodigious. The wild elephant is now confined to the forests under Hemāla, and to the Ghats of Malabar. A wild elephant near Karrah, Mānikpūr, or Kālpi, is a thing, at the present day (1826 AD.), totally unknown. May not their familiar existence in these countries down to Bābur's days, be considered rather hostile to the accounts given of the superabundant population of Hindūstān in remote times?" (Erskine).

<sup>3</sup> *ḍrūwān*. I. O. 217 f. 190b, *dar ḍrūwān fil jawāb miḡūnd*; Mems. p. 316. They account to the government for the elephants they take; *Méms.* ii, 188, *Les habitants payent l'impôt avec le produit de leur chasse*. Though de Courteille's reading probably states the fact, Erskine's includes de C.'s and more, inasmuch as it covers all captures and these might reach to a surplusage over the imposts.

rumour that it is heard of in some islands as 10 *qārī*<sup>1</sup> high, but in this tract it<sup>2</sup> is not seen above 4 or 5. It eats and drinks entirely with its trunk; if it lose the trunk, it cannot live. It has two great teeth (tusks) in its upper jaw, one on each side of its trunk; by setting these against walls and trees, it brings them down; with these it fights and does whatever hard tasks fall to it. People call these ivory ('*āj*, var. *ghāj*); they are highly valued by Hindūstānīs. The elephant has no hair.<sup>3</sup> It is much relied on by Hindūstānīs, accompanying every troop of their armies. It has some useful qualities:—it crosses great rivers with ease, carrying a mass of baggage, and three or four have gone dragging without trouble the cart of the mortar (*qasān*) it takes four or five hundred men to haul.<sup>4</sup> But its stomach is large; one elephant eats the corn (*būghūz*) of two strings (*qūṭār*) of camels.<sup>5</sup>

The rhinoceros is another. This also is a large animal, equal in bulk to perhaps three buffaloes. The opinion current in those countries (Tramontana) that it can lift an elephant on its horn, seems mistaken. It has a single horn on its nose, more than nine inches (*qārīsh*) long; one of two *qārīsh* is not seen.<sup>6</sup> Out of one large horn were made a drinking-vessel<sup>7</sup> and a dice-box, leaving over [the thickness of] 3 or 4 hands.<sup>8</sup> The rhinoceros'

Fol. 275<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Pers. trs. *gaz*=24 inches. *Il est bon de rappeler que le mot turc qārī, que la version persane rend par gaz, désigne proprement l'espace compris entre le haut de l'épaule jusqu'au bout des doigts* (de Courteille, ii, 189 note). The *qārī* like one of its equivalents, the *ell* (Zenker), is a variable measure; it seems to approach more nearly to a yard than to a *gaz* of 24 inches. See *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* (R. & B. pp. 18, 141 and notes) for the heights of elephants, and for discussion of some measures.

<sup>2</sup> *khūd*, itself.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* pelt; as Erskine notes, its skin is scattered with small hairs. Details such as this one stir the question, for whom was Bābur writing? Not for Hindūstān where what he writes is patent; hardly for Kābul; perhaps for Transoxania.

<sup>4</sup> Shaikh Zain's wording shows this reference to be to a special piece of artillery, perhaps that of f. 302.

<sup>5</sup> A string of camels contains from five to seven, or, in poetry, even more (Vullers, ii, 728, *sermone poetico series decem camelorum*). The item of food compared is corn only (*būghūz*) and takes no account therefore of the elephant's green food.

<sup>6</sup> The Ency. Br. states that the horn seldom exceeds a foot in length; there is one in the B.M. measuring 18 inches.

<sup>7</sup> *āb-khuyura kishīr*, water-drinker's boat, in which name *kishīr* may be used with reference to shape as boat is in *sauce-boat*. Erskine notes that rhinoceros-horn is supposed to sweat on approach of poison.

<sup>8</sup> *āīlīk*, Pers. trs. *angusht*, finger, each seemingly representing about one inch, a hand's thickness, a finger's breadth.

hide is very thick ; an arrow shot from a stiff bow, drawn with full strength right up to the arm-pit, if it pierce at all, might penetrate 4 inches (*ailik*, hands). From the sides (*qāsh*) of its fore and hind legs,<sup>1</sup> folds hang which from a distance look like housings thrown over it. It resembles the horse more than it does any other animal.<sup>2</sup> As the horse has a small stomach (appetite?), so has the rhinoceros ; as in the horse a piece of bone (pastern?) grows in place of small bones (T. *āshūq*, Fr. *osselets* (Zenker), knuckles), so one grows in the rhinoceros ; as in the horse's hand (*ailik*, Pers. *dast*) there is *kūmūk* (or *gūmūk*, a *tibia*, or marrow), so there is in the rhinoceros.<sup>3</sup> It is more ferocious than the elephant and cannot be made obedient and submissive. There are masses of it in the Parashāwar and Hashnagar jungles, so too between the Sind-river and the jungles of the Bhīra country. Masses there are also on the banks of the Sārū-river in Hindūstān. Some were killed in the Parashāwar and Hashnagar jungles in our moves on Hindūstān. It strikes powerfully with its horn ; men and horses enough have been horned in those hunts.<sup>4</sup> In one of them the horse of a *chuhra* (brave) named Maqṣūd was tossed a spear's-length, for which reason the man was nick-named the rhino's aim (*maqṣūd-i-karg*).

Fol. 276.

The wild-buffalo<sup>5</sup> is another. It is much larger than the (domestic) buffalo and its horns do not turn back in the same way.<sup>6</sup> It is a mightily destructive and ferocious animal.

The *nīla-gāū* (blue-bull)<sup>7</sup> is another. It may stand as high as a horse but is somewhat lighter in build. The male is bluish-gray, hence, seemingly, people call it *nīla-gāū*. It has two rather small horns. On its throat is a tuft of hair, nine inches long ; (in this) it resembles the yak.<sup>8</sup> Its hoof is cleft (*airī*)

<sup>1</sup> lit. hand (*qūl*) and leg (*būt*).

<sup>2</sup> The anatomical details by which Bābur supports this statement are difficult to translate, but his grouping of the two animals is in agreement with the modern classification of them as two of the three *Ungulata vera*, the third being the tapir (Fauna of British India :—Mammals, Blanford 467 and, illustration, 468).

<sup>3</sup> De Courteille (ii, 190) reads *kūmūk*, osseuse ; Erskine reads *gūmūk*, marrow.

<sup>4</sup> Index *s.n.* rhinoceros.

<sup>5</sup> *Bos bubalus*.

<sup>6</sup> "so as to grow into the flesh" (Erskine, p. 317).

<sup>7</sup> *sic* in text. It may be noted that the name *nīl-gāū*, common in general European writings, is that of the cow ; *nīl-gāū*, that of the bull (Blanford).

<sup>8</sup> *b : h : rī qūṭās* ; see Appendix M.

like the hoof of cattle. The doe is of the colour of the *būghū-marāl*<sup>1</sup>; she, for her part, has no horns and is plumper than the male.

The hog-deer (*kotah-pāūcha*) is another.<sup>2</sup> It may be of the size of the white deer (*āq kiyīk*). It has short legs, hence its name, little-legged. Its horns are like a *būghū's* but smaller; like the *būghū* it casts them every year. Being rather a poor runner, it does not leave the jungle.

Another is a deer (*kiyīk*) after the fashion of the male deer (*airkāki hūna*) of the *jīrān*.<sup>3</sup> Its back is black, its belly white, its horns longer than the *hūna's*, but more crooked. A Hindūstānī calls it *kalahara*,<sup>4</sup> a word which may have been originally *kālā-haran*, black-buck, and which has been softened in pronunciation to *kalahara*. The doe is light-coloured. By means of this *kalahara* people catch deer; they fasten a noose (*halqa*) on its horns, hang a stone as large as a ball<sup>5</sup> on one of its feet, so as to keep it from getting far away after it has brought about the capture of a deer, and set it opposite wild deer when these are seen. As these (*kalahara*) deer are singularly combative, advance to fight is made at once. The two deer strike with their horns and push one another backwards and forwards, during which the wild one's horns become entangled in the net that is fast to the tame one's. If the wild one would run away, the tame one does not go; it is impeded also by the stone on its foot. People take many deer in this way; after capture they tame them and use them in their turn to take others;<sup>6</sup> they also set them to fight at home; the deer fight very well.

Fol. 276b.

There is a smaller deer (*kiyīk*) on the Hindūstān hill-skirts, as large may-be as the one year's lamb of the *arqārghalcha* (*Ovis poli*).

<sup>1</sup> The doe is brown (Blanford, p. 518). The word *būghū* (stag) is used alone just below and seems likely to represent the bull of the Asiatic wapiti (f. 4 n. on *būghū-marāl*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Axis porcinus* (Jerdon, *Cervus porcinus*).

<sup>3</sup> *Saiga tartarica* (Shaw). Turkī *hūna* is used, like English deer, for male, female, and both. Here it seems defined by *airkāki* to mean stag or buck.

<sup>4</sup> *Antelope cervicapra*, black-buck, so called from the dark hue of its back (Yule's H.J. s.m. Black-buck).

<sup>5</sup> *tūyūg*, underlined in the Elph. MS. by *kura*, cannon-ball; Erskine, foot-ball, de Courteille, *piere plus grosse que la cheville* (*tūyūg*).

<sup>6</sup> This mode of catching antelopes is described in the *Āyīn-i-akbarī*, and is noted by Erskine as common in his day.

The *gānī*-cow<sup>1</sup> is another, a very small one, perhaps as large as the *qūchqār* (ram) of those countries (Tramontana). Its flesh is very tender and savoury.

The monkey (*maimūn*) is another—a Hindūstānī calls it *bandar*. Of this too there are many kinds, one being what people take to those countries. The jugglers (*lūlī*) teach them tricks. This kind is in the mountains of Nūr-dara, in the skirt-hills of Safid-koh neighbouring on Khaibar, and from there downwards all through Hindūstān. It is not found higher up. Its hair is yellow, its face white, its tail not very long.—Another kind, not found in Bajaur, Sawād and those parts, is much larger than the one taken to those countries (Tramontana). Its tail is very long, its hair whitish, its face quite black. It is in the mountains and jungles of Hindūstān.<sup>2</sup>—Yet another kind is distinguished (*būlā dūr*), quite black in hair, face and limbs.<sup>3</sup>

The *nawal* (*nūl*)<sup>4</sup> is another. It may be somewhat smaller than the *kīsh*. It climbs trees. Some call it the *mūsh-i-khūrma* (palm-rat). It is thought lucky.

A mouse (T. *sīchqān*) people call *galāhrī* (squirrel) is another. It is just always in trees, running up and down with amazing alertness and speed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. *gainā*. It is 3 feet high (Yule's H.J. s.n. Gynee). Cf. A. A. Blochmann, p. 149. The ram with which it is compared may be that of *Ovis ammon* (Vigné's *Kashmīr etc.* ii, 278).

<sup>2</sup> Here the Pers. trs. adds :—They call this kind of monkey *langūr* (baboon, I. O. 217 f. 192).

<sup>3</sup> Here the Pers. trs. adds what Erskine mistakenly attributes to Bābur :—People bring it from several islands.—They bring yet another kind from several islands, yellowish-grey in colour like a *pūstīn tīn* (leather coat of ?; Erskine, skin of the fig, *tīn*). Its head is broader and its body much larger than those of other monkeys. It is very fierce and destructive. It is singular *quod penis ejus semper sit erectus, et nunquam non ad coitum idoneus* [Erskine].

<sup>4</sup> This name is explained on the margin of the Elph. MS. as “*rāsū*, which is the weasel of Tartary” (Erskine). *Rāsū* is an Indian name for the squirrel *Sciurus indicus*. The *kīsh*, with which Bābur's *nūl* is compared, is explained by de C. as *belette*, weasel, and by Steingass as a fur-bearing animal; the fur-bearing weasel is (*Mustelidae*) *putorius ermina*, the ermine-weasel (Blanford, p. 165), which thus seems to be Bābur's *kīsh*. The alternative name Bābur gives for his *nūl*, i.e. *mūsh-i-khūrma*, is, in India, that of *Sciurus palmarum*, the palm-squirrel (G. of I. i, 227); this then, it seems that Bābur's *nūl* is. (Erskine took *nūl* here to be the mongoose (*Herpestes mungūs*) (p. 318); and Blanford, perhaps partly on Erskine's warrant, gives *mūsh-i-khūrma* as a name of the lesser *mungūs* of Bengal. I gather that the name *nawal* is not exclusively confined even now to the *mungūs*.)

<sup>5</sup> If this be a tree-mouse and not a squirrel, it may be *Vandeleuria oleracea* (G. of I. i, 228).

(j. Fauna of Hindūstān :—Birds.)<sup>1</sup>

The peacock (Ar. *ṭūūs*) is one. It is a beautifully coloured and splendid animal. Its form (*andām*) is not equal to its colouring and beauty. Its body may be as large as the crane's (*tūrna*) but it is not so tall. On the head of both cock and hen are 20 to 30 feathers rising some 2 or 3 inches high. The hen has neither colour nor beauty. The head of the cock has an iridescent collar (*ṭauq sūsani*); its neck is of a beautiful blue; Fol. 277b. below the neck, its back is painted in yellow, parrot-green, blue and violet colours. The flowers<sup>2</sup> on its back are much the smaller; below the back as far as the tail-tips are [larger] flowers painted in the same colours. The tail of some peacocks grows to the length of a man's extended arms.<sup>3</sup> It has a small tail under its flowered feathers, like the tail of other birds; this ordinary tail and its primaries<sup>4</sup> are red. It is in Bajaur and Sawād and below them; it is not in Kunur [Kūnūr] and the Lamghānāt or any place above them. Its flight is feebler than the pheasant's (*qirghāwal*); it cannot do more than make one or two short flights.<sup>5</sup> On account of its feeble flight, it frequents the hills or jungles, which is curious, since jackals abound in the jungles it frequents. What damage might these jackals not do to birds that trail from jungle to jungle, tails as long as a man's stretch (*qūlāch*)! Hindūstānīs call the peacock *mor*. Its flesh is lawful food, according to the doctrine of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa; it is like that of the partridge and not unsavoury, but is eaten with instinctive aversion, in the way camel-flesh is.

The parrot (H. *tūtī*) is another. This also is in Bajaur and countries lower down. It comes into Nīngnahār and the

<sup>1</sup> The notes to this section are restricted to what serves to identify the birds Bābur mentions, though temptation is great to add something to this from the mass of interesting circumstance scattered in the many writings of observers and lovers of birds. I have thought it useful to indicate to what language a bird's name belongs.

<sup>2</sup> Persian, *gūl*; English, eyes.

<sup>3</sup> *qūlāch* (Zenker, p. 720); Pers. trs. (217 f. 192b) *yak qad-i-adm*; de Courteille, *brasse* (fathom). These three are expressions of the measure from finger-tip to finger-tip of a man's extended arms, which should be his height, a fathom (6 feet).

<sup>4</sup> *qānāt*, of which here "primaries" appears to be the correct rendering, since Jerdon says (ii, 506) of the bird that its "wings are striated black and white, primaries and tail deep chestnut".

<sup>5</sup> The *qirghāwal*, which is of the pheasant species, when pursued, will take several flights immediately after each other, though none long; peacocks, it seems, soon get tired and take to running (Erskine).

Lamghānāt in the heats when mulberries ripen ; it is not there at other times. It is of many, many kinds. One sort is that which people carry into those (Tramontane) countries. They make it speak words.—Another sort is smaller ; this also they make speak words. They call it the jungle-parrot. It is numerous in Bajaur, Sawād and that neighbourhood, so much so that 5 or 6000 fly in one flock (*khaiḷ*). Between it and the one first-named the difference is in bulk ; in colouring they are just one and the same.—Another sort is still smaller than the jungle-parrot. Its head is quite red, the top of its wings (*i.e.* the primaries) is red also ; the tip of its tail for two hands'-thickness is lustrous.<sup>1</sup> The head of some parrots of this kind is iridescent (*sūsani*). It does not become a talker. People call it the Kashmīr parrot.—Another sort is rather smaller than the jungle-parrot ; its beak is black ; round its neck is a wide black collar ; its primaries are red. It is an excellent learner of words.—We used to think that whatever a parrot or a *shārak* (*mīna*) might say of words people had taught it, it could not speak of any matter out of its own head. At this juncture<sup>2</sup> one of my immediate servants Abū'l-qāsim *Jalāir*, reported a singular thing to me. A parrot of this sort whose cage must have been covered up, said, "Uncover my face ; I am stifling." And another time when palkī bearers sat down to take breath, this parrot, presumably on hearing wayfarers pass by, said, "Men are going past, are you not going on ?" Let credit rest with the narrator,<sup>3</sup> but never-the-less, so long as a person has not heard with his own ears, he may not believe !—Another kind is of a beautiful full red ; it has other colours also, but, as nothing is distinctly remembered about them, no description is made. It is a very beautiful bird, both in colour and form. People are understood to make this also speak words.<sup>4</sup> Its defect is a most unpleasant, sharp voice, like the drawing of broken china on a copper plate.<sup>5</sup>

Fol. 278b.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *barrāq*, as on f. 278b last line where the Elph. MS. has *barrāq*, marked with the *tashād*.

<sup>2</sup> This was, presumably, just when Bābur was writing the passage.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is in Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> A Persian note, partially expunged from the text of the Elph. MS. is to the effect that 4 or 5 other kinds of parrot are heard of which the revered author did not see.

<sup>5</sup> Erskine suggests that this may be the *loory* (*Loriculus vernalis*, Indian loriquet).

The (P.) *shāarak*<sup>1</sup> is another. It is numerous in the Lamghānāt and abounds lower down, all over Hindūstān. Like the parrot, it is of many kinds.—The kind that is numerous in the Lamghānāt has a black head; its primaries (*qānāt*) are spotted, its body rather larger and thicker<sup>2</sup> than that of the (T.) *chūghūr-chūq*.<sup>3</sup> People teach it to speak words.—Another kind they call *p:ndāwali*<sup>4</sup>; they bring it from Bengal; it is black all over and of much greater bulk than the *shāarak* (here, house-mīna). Its bill and foot are yellow and on each ear are yellow wattles which hang down and have a bad appearance.<sup>5</sup> It learns to speak well and clearly.—Another kind of *shāarak* is slenderer than the last and is red round the eyes. It does not learn to speak. People call it the wood-*shāarak*.<sup>6</sup> Again, at the time when (934 AH.) I had made a bridge over Gang (Ganges), crossed it, and put my adversaries to flight, a kind of *shāarak* was seen, in the neighbourhood of Laknau and Aūd (Oude), for the first time, which had a white breast, piebald head, and black back. This kind does not learn to speak.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The birds Bābur classes under the name *shāarak* seem to include what Oates and Blanford (whom I follow as they give the results of earlier workers) class under *Sturnus*, *Eulabes* and *Calornis*, starling, grackle and mīna, and tree-stare (*Fauna of British India*, Oates, vols. i and ii, Blanford, vols. iii and iv).

<sup>2</sup> Turkī, *qabā*; Ilminsky, p. 361, *tang* (*tundī*).

<sup>3</sup> E. D. Ross's *Polyglot List of Birds*, p. 314, *Chighīr-chīq*, Northern swallow; Elph. MS. f. 2306 interlined *jil* (Steingass lark). The description of the bird allows it to be *Sturnus humīi*, the Hīmalāyan starling (Oates, i, 520).

<sup>4</sup> Elph. and Hai. MSS. (Sans. and Bengālī) *p:ndūi*; two good MSS. of the Pers. trs. (I.O. 217 and 218) *p:ndāwali*; Ilminsky (p. 361) *mīnā*; Erskine (*Mems.* p. 319) *pīndāwali*, but without his customary translation of an Indian name. The three forms shewn above can all mean "having protuberance or lump" (*pīndā*) and refer to the bird's wattle. But the word of the presumably well-informed scribes of I.O. 217 and 218 can refer to the bird's sagacity in speech and be *paṇḍāwali*, possessed of wisdom. With the same spelling, the word can translate into the epithet *religiosa*, given to the wattled *mīnā* by Linnæus. This epithet Mr. Leonard Wray informs me has been explained to him as due to the frequenting of temples by the birds; and that in Malāya they are found living in cotes near Chinese temples.—An alternative name (one also connecting with *religiosa*) allowed by the form of the word is *bindā-wali*. H. *bindā* is a mark on the forehead, made as a preparative to devotion by Hindūs, or in Sans. and Bengālī, is the spot of paint made on an elephant's trunk; the meaning would thus be "having a mark". Cf. Jerdon and Oates *s.n.* *Eulabes religiosa*.

<sup>5</sup> *Eulabes intermedia*, the Indian grackle or hill-mīna. Here the Pers. trs. adds that people call it *mīna*.

<sup>6</sup> *Calornis chalybeius*, the glossy starling or tree-stare, which never descends to the ground.

<sup>7</sup> *Sturnopastor contra*, the pied mīna.



The *lūja*<sup>1</sup> is another. This bird they call (Ar.) *bū-qalamūn* (chameleon) because, between head and tail, it has five or six changing colours, resplendent (*barrāq*) like a pigeon's throat. Fol. 279. It is about as large as the *kabg-i-darī*<sup>2</sup> and seems to be the *kabg-i-darī* of Hindūstān. As the *kabg-i-darī* moves (*yūrūr*) on the heads (*kulāh*) of mountains, so does this. It is in the Nijr-aū mountains of the countries of Kābul, and in the mountains lower down but it is not found higher up. People tell this wonderful thing about it:—When the birds, at the onset of winter, descend to the hill-skirts, if they come over a vineyard, they can fly no further and are taken. God knows the truth! The flesh of this bird is very savoury.

The partridge (*durrāj*)<sup>3</sup> is another. This is not peculiar to Hindūstān but is also in the *Garm-sīr* countries<sup>4</sup>; as however some kinds are only in Hindūstān, particulars of them are given here. The *durrāj* (*Francolinus vulgaris*) may be of the same bulk as the *kīklīk*<sup>5</sup>; the cock's back is the colour of the hen-pheasant (*qīrghāwal-ning māda-sī*); its throat and breast are black, with quite white spots.<sup>6</sup> A red line comes down on both sides of both eyes.<sup>7</sup> It is named from its cry<sup>8</sup> which is something like *Shir dāram shakrak*.<sup>9</sup> It pronounces *shir* short; *dāram shakrak* it says distinctly. Astarābād partridges are said to cry *Bāt minī tūtīlār* (Quick! they have caught me). The partridge of Arabia and those parts is understood to cry, *Bī'l*

<sup>1</sup> Part of the following passage about the *lūja* (var. *lūkha*, *lūcha*) is *verbatim* with part of that on f. 135; both were written about 934–5 A.H. as is shewn by Shaikh Zain (Index *s.n.*) and by inference from references in the text (Index *s.n.* E.N. date of composition). See Appendix N.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. mountain-partridge. There is ground for understanding that one of the birds known in the region as *monals* is meant. See Appendix N.

<sup>3</sup> Sans. *chakora*; Ar. *durrāj*; P. *kabg*; T. *kīklīk*.

<sup>4</sup> Here, probably, southern Afghānistān.

<sup>5</sup> *Caccabis chukūr* (Scully, Shaw's Vocabulary) or *C. palleescens* (Hume, quoted under No. 126 E. D. Ross' *Polyglot List*).

<sup>6</sup> "In some parts of the country (*i.e.* India before 1841 A.D.), tippets used to be made of the beautiful black, white-spotted feathers of the lower plumage (of the *durrāj*), and were in much request, but they are rarely procurable now" (*Bengal Sporting Magazine* for 1841, quoted by Jerdon, ii, 561).

<sup>7</sup> A broad collar of red passes round the whole neck (Jerdon, ii, 558).

<sup>8</sup> Ar. *durrāj* means one who repeats what he hears, a tell-tale.

<sup>9</sup> Various translations have been made of this passage, "I have milk and sugar" (Erskine), "*J'ai du lait, un peu de sucre*" (de Courteille), but with short *sh:r*, it might be read in more than one way ignoring milk and sugar. See Jerdon, ii, 558 and Hobson Jobson *s.n.* Black-partridge.

*shakar tadawm al ni'am* (with sugar pleasure endures)! The hen-bird has the colour of the young pheasant. These birds are found below Nijr-aū.—Another kind is called *kanjāl*. Its bulk may be that of the one already described. Its voice is very like that of the *kiklik* but much shriller. There is little difference in colour between the cock and hen. It is found in Parashāwar, Hashnagar and countries lower down, but not higher up. Fol. 279b.

The *p(h)ūl-paikār*<sup>1</sup> is another. Its size may be that of the *kabg-i-darī*; its shape is that of the house-cock, its colour that of the hen. From forehead (*tūmāgh*) to throat it is of a beautiful colour, quite red. It is in the Hindūstān mountains.

The wild-fowl (*sahrāi-tāūgh*)<sup>2</sup> is another. It flies like a pheasant, and is not of all colours as house-fowl are. It is in the mountains of Bajaur and lower down, but not higher up.

The *chūlsī* (or *jūlsī*)<sup>3</sup> is another. In bulk it equals the *p(h)ūl-paikār* but the latter has the finer colouring. It is in the mountains of Bajaur.

The *shām*<sup>4</sup> is another. It is about as large as a house-fowl; its colour is unique (*ghair mukarrar*).<sup>5</sup> It also is in the mountains of Bajaur.

The quail (*P. būdana*) is another. It is not peculiar to Hindūstān but four or five kinds are so.—One is that which goes to our countries (Tramontana), larger and more spreading than the (Hindūstān) quail.<sup>6</sup>—Another kind<sup>7</sup> is smaller than the one first named. Its primaries and tail are reddish. It flies in flocks like the *chūr* (*Phasianus Wallichii*).—Another kind is smaller than that which goes to our countries and is darker on throat

<sup>1</sup> Flower-faced, *Traopogon melanocephala*, the horned (*sing*)-monal. It is described by Jahāngir (*Memoirs*, R. and B., ii, 220) under the names [H. and P.] *phūl-paikār* and Kashmīrī, *soḷū*.

<sup>2</sup> *Gallus sonneratii*, the grey jungle-fowl.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Bambusicola fyichii*, the western bambu-partridge. For *chil* see E. D. Ross, *l.c.* No. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Jahāngir (*l.c.*) describes, under the Kashmīrī name *phūt*, what may be this bird. It seems to be *Gallus ferrugineus*, the red jungle-fowl (Blanford, iv, 75).

<sup>5</sup> Jahāngir helps to identify the bird by mentioning its elongated tail-feathers,—seasonal only.

<sup>6</sup> The migrant quail will be *Coturnix communis*, the grey quail, 8 inches long; what it is compared with seems likely to be the bush-quail, which is non-migrant and shorter.

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps *Perdícula argunda*, the rock bush-quail, which flies in small coveys.

Fol. 280. and breast.<sup>1</sup>—Another kind goes in small numbers to Kābul ; it is very small, perhaps a little larger than the yellow wag-tail (*qārcha*)<sup>2</sup> ; they call it *qūrātū* in Kābul.

The Indian bustard (P. *kharchāl*)<sup>3</sup> is another. It is about as large as the (T.) *tūghdāq* (*Otis tarda*, the great bustard), and seems to be the *tūghdāq* of Hindūstān.<sup>4</sup> Its flesh is delicious ; of some birds the leg is good, of others, the wing ; of the bustard all the meat is delicious and excellent.

The florican (P. *charz*)<sup>5</sup> is another. It is rather less than the *tūghdīrī* (*houbara*)<sup>6</sup> ; the cock's back is like the *tūghdīrī*'s, and its breast is black. The hen is of one colour.

The Hindūstān sand-grouse (T. *bāghrī-qarā*)<sup>7</sup> is another. It is smaller and slenderer than the *bāghrī-qarā* [*Pterocles arenarius*] of those countries (Tramontana). Also its cry is sharper.

Of the birds that frequent water and the banks of rivers, one is the *dīng*,<sup>8</sup> an animal of great bulk, each wing measuring a *qūlāch* (fathom). It has no plumage (*tūqī*) on head or neck ; a thing like a bag hangs from its neck ; its back is black ; its breast is white. It goes sometimes to Kābul ; one year people brought one they had caught. It became very tame ; if meat

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Coturnix coromandelica*, the black-breasted or rain quail, 7 inches long.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *Motacilla citreola*, a yellow wag-tail which summers in Central Asia (Oates, ii, 298). If so, its Kābul name may refer to its flashing colour. Cf. E. D. Ross, *l.c.* No. 301; de Courteille's *Dictionary* which gives *qārcha*, wag-tail, and Zenker's which fixes the colour.

<sup>3</sup> *Eupodotis edwardsii* ; Turki, *tūghdār* or *tūghdīrī*.

<sup>4</sup> Erskine noting (Mems. p. 321), that the bustard is common in the Dakkan where it is bigger than a turkey, says it is called *tūghdār* and suggests that this is a corruption of *tūghdāq*. The uses of both words are shewn by Bābur, here, and in the next following, account of the *charz*. Cf. G. of I. i, 260 and E. D. Ross *l.c.* Nos. 36, 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Syphoetis bengalensis* and *S. aurita*, which are both smaller than *Otis houbara* (*tūghdīrī*). In Hindustan *S. aurita* is known as *lūkh* which name is the nearest approach I have found to Bābur's [*lūja*] *lūkha*.

<sup>6</sup> Jerdon mentions (ii, 615) that this bird is common in Afghānistān and there called *dugdaor* (*tūghdār*, *tūghdīrī*).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Appendix B, since I wrote which, further information has made it fairly safe to say that the Hindūstān *bāghrī-qarā* is *Pterocles excustus*, the common sand-grouse and that the one of f. 49b is *Pterocles arenarius*, the larger or black-bellied sand-grouse. *P. excustus* is said by Yule (H. J. s.n. Rock-pigeon) to have been miscalled rock-pigeon by Anglo-Indians, perhaps because its flight resembles the pigeon's. This accounts for Erskine's rendering (p. 321) *bāghrī-qarā* here by rock-pigeon.

<sup>8</sup> *Leptoptilus dubius*, Hind. *hargīlā*. Hindūstānis call it *pīr-i-dīng* (Erskine) and *peda dhauk* (Blanford), both names referring, perhaps, to its pouch. It is the adjutant of Anglo-India. Cf. f. 235.

were thrown to it, it never failed to catch it in its bill. Once it swallowed a six-nailed shoe, another time a whole fowl, wings and feathers, all right down. Fol. 280b.

The *sāras* (*Grus antigone*) is another. Turks in Hindūstān call it *tīwa-tūrṇā* (camel-crane). It may be smaller than the *dīng* but its neck is rather longer. Its head is quite red.<sup>1</sup> People keep this bird at their houses ; it becomes very tame.

The *mānek*<sup>2</sup> is another. In stature it approaches the *sāras*, but its bulk is less. It resembles the *lag-lag* (*Ciconia alba*, the white stork) but is much larger ; its bill is larger and is black. Its head is iridescent, its neck white, its wings partly-coloured ; the tips and border-feathers and under parts of the wings are white, their middle black.

Another stork (*lag-lag*) has a white neck and all other parts black. It goes to those countries (Tramontana). It is rather smaller than the *lag-lag* (*Ciconia alba*). A Hindūstānī calls it *yak-rang* (one colour?).

Another stork in colour and shape is exactly like the storks that go to those countries. Its bill is blacker and its bulk much less than the *lag-lag*'s (*Ciconia alba*).<sup>3</sup>

Another bird resembles the grey heron (*aūqār*) and the *lag-lag* ; but its bill is longer than the heron's and its body smaller than the white stork's (*lag-lag*).

Another is the large *buzak*<sup>4</sup> (black ibis). In bulk it may equal the buzzard (Turkī, *sār*). The back of its wings is white. It has a loud cry.

The white *buzak*<sup>5</sup> is another. Its head and bill are black.

<sup>1</sup> only when young (Blanford, ii, 188).

<sup>2</sup> Elph. MS. *mank:sā* or *mankiā* ; Hai. MS. *m:nk*. Houghton's *Bengali Dictionary* gives two forms of the name *mānek-jur* and *mānak-yoī*. It is *Dissura episcopus*, the white-necked stork (Blanford iv, 370, who gives *mānik-jor* amongst its Indian names). Jerdon classes it (ii, 737) as *Ciconia leucocephala*. It is the beef-steak bird of Anglo-India.

<sup>3</sup> *Ciconia nigra* (Blanford, iv, 369).

<sup>4</sup> Under the Hindūstānī form, *būza*, of Persian *buzak* the birds Bābur mentions as *buzak* can be identified. The large one is *Imocotis papillosus*, *būza*, *kāla būza*, black curlew, king-curlew. The bird it equals in size is a buzzard, Turkī *sār* (not Persian *sār*, starling). The king-curlew has a large white patch on the inner lesser and marginal coverts of its wings (Blanford, iv, 303). This agrees with Bābur's statement about the wings of the large *buzak*. Its length is 27 inches, while the starling's is 9½ inches.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibis melanocephala*, the white ibis, Pers. *safed buzak*, Bengali *sabut būza*. It is 30 inches long.

Fol. 28r. It is much larger than the one that goes to those countries,<sup>1</sup> but smaller than the Hindūstān *buzak*.<sup>2</sup>

The *gharm-pāi*<sup>3</sup> (spotted-billed duck) is another. It is larger than the *sūna būrchīn*<sup>4</sup> (mallard). The drake and duck are of one colour. It is in Hashnagar at all seasons, sometimes it goes into the Lamghānāt. Its flesh is very savoury.

The *shāh-murgh* (*Sarcidiornis melanonotus*, comb duck or *nukta*) is another. It may be a little smaller than a goose. It has a swelling on its bill; its back is black; its flesh is excellent eating.

The *summaj* is another. It is about as large as the *būrgūt* (*Aquila chrysaetus*, the golden eagle).

The (T.) *ālā-qārgha* of Hindūstān is another (*Corvus cornix*, the pied crow). This is slenderer and smaller than the *ālā-qārgha* of those countries (Tramontana). Its neck is partly white.

Another Hindūstān bird resembles the crow (T. *qārcha*, *C. splendens*) and the magpie (Ar. 'aqqa). In the Lamghānāt people call it the jungle-bird (P. *murgh-i-jangal*).<sup>5</sup> Its head and breast are black; its wings and tail reddish; its eye quite red. Having a feeble flight, it does not come out of the jungle, whence its name.

The great bat (P. *shapara*)<sup>6</sup> is another. People call it (Hindī) *chumgādur*. It is about as large as the owl (T. *yāpālāq*, *Otus brachyotus*), and has a head like a puppy's. When it is thinking of lodging for the night on a tree, it takes hold of a branch, turns head-downwards, and so remains. It has much singularity.

The magpie (Ar. 'aqqa) is another. People call it (H. ?) *matā* (*Dendrocitta rufa*, the Indian tree-pie). It may be somewhat

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, *Plegadis falcinellus*, the glossy ibis, which in most parts of India is a winter visitor. Its length is 25 inches.

<sup>2</sup> Erskine suggests that this is *Platalea leucorodia*, the *chamach-būza*, spoon-bill. It is 33 inches long.

<sup>3</sup> *Anas poecilorhyncha*. The Hai. MS. writes *gharm-pāi*, and this is the Indian name given by Blanford (iv, 437).

<sup>4</sup> *Anas boschas*. Dr. Ross notes (No. 147), from the *Sanglākḥ*, that *sūna* is the drake, *būrchīn*, the duck and that it is common in China to call a certain variety of bird by the combined sex-names. Something like this is shewn by the uses of *būghā* and *marāl* *q.v.* Index.

<sup>5</sup> *Centropus rufipennis*, the common coucal (Yule's H.J. *s.n.* Crow-pheasant); *H. mahokhā*, *Cuculus castaneus* (Buchanan, quoted by Forbes).

<sup>6</sup> *Pteropus edwardsii*, the flying-fox. The inclusion of the bat here amongst birds, may be a clerical accident, since on f. 136 a flying-fox is not written of as a bird.

less than the 'agga (*Pica rustica*), which moreover is pied black and white, while the *matā* is pied brown and black.<sup>1</sup>

Another is a small bird, perhaps of the size of the (T.) *sāndūlāch*.<sup>2</sup> Fol. 281b.  
It is of a beautiful red with a little black on its wings.

The *karcha*<sup>3</sup> is another; it is after the fashion of a swallow (T. *gārlūghāch*), but much larger and quite black.

The *kūil*<sup>4</sup> (*Eudynamys orientalis*, the koel) is another. It may be as large as the crow (P. *sāg*) but is much slenderer. It has a kind of song and is understood to be the bulbul of Hindūstān. Its honour with Hindūstānīs is as great as is the bulbul's. It always stays in closely-wooded gardens.

Another bird is after the fashion of the (Ar.) *shiqarrāk* (*Cissa chinensis*, the green-magpie). It clings to trees, is perhaps as large as the green-magpie, and is parrot-green (*Gecinus striolatus*, the little green-woodpecker?).

(*k. Fauna of Hindūstān :—Aquatic animals.*)

One is the water-tiger (P. *shūr-ābī*, *Crocodilus palustris*).<sup>5</sup> This is in the standing-waters. It is like a lizard (T. *gīlās*).<sup>6</sup> People say it carries off men and even buffaloes.

<sup>1</sup> Bābur here uses what is both the Kābul and Andijān name for the magpie, Ar. 'agga (Oates, i, 31 and Scully's Voc.), instead of T. *sāghisghān* or P. *dam-sīcha* (tail-wagger).

<sup>2</sup> The Pers. trs. writes *sāndūlāch mamūlā*, *mamūlā* being Arabic for wag-tail. De Courteille's Dictionary describes the *sāndūlāch* as small and having a long tail, the cock-bird green, the hen, yellow. The wag-tail suiting this in colouring is *Motacilla borealis* (Oates, ii, 294; syn. *Budytes viridis*, the green wag-tail); this, as a migrant, serves to compare with the Indian "little bird", which seems likely to be a red-start.

<sup>3</sup> This word may represent Scully's *kirich* and be the Turkī name for a swift, perhaps *Cypselus affinis*.

<sup>4</sup> This name is taken from its cry during the breeding season (Yule's H.J. s.n. Koel).

<sup>5</sup> Bābur's distinction between the three crocodiles he mentions seems to be that of names he heard, *shūr-ābī*, *siyāh-sār*, and *ghariāl*.

<sup>6</sup> In this passage my husband finds the explanation of two somewhat vague statements of later date, one made by Abū'l-fazl (A. A. Blochmann, p. 65) that Akbar called the *kīlās* (cherry) the *shāh-ālū* (king-plum), the other by Jahāngīr that this change was made because *kīlās* means lizard (*Jahāngīr's Memoirs*, R. & B. i, 116). What Akbar did is shewn by Bābur; it was to reject the Persian name *kīlās*, cherry, because it closely resembled Turkī *gīlās*, lizard. There is a lizard *Stellio Lehmanni* of Transoxiana with which Bābur may well have compared the crocodile's appearance (Schuyler's *Turkistān*, i, 383). Akbar in Hindūstān may have had *Varanus salvator* (6 ft. long) in mind, if indeed he had not the great lizard, *al lagarto*, the alligator itself in his thought. The name *kīlās* evidently was banished only from the Court circle, since it is still current in Kashmir (Blochmann *l.c.* p. 616); and Speede (p. 201) gives *keeras*, cherry, as used in India.

The (P.) *siyāh-sār* (black-head) is another. This also is like a lizard. It is in all rivers of Hindūstān. One that was taken and brought in was about 4-5 *qārī* (cir. 13 feet) long and as thick perhaps as a sheep. It is said to grow still larger. Its snout is over half a yard long. It has rows of small teeth in its upper and lower jaws. It comes out of the water and sinks into the mud (*bātā*).

The (Sans.) *g[ḥ]arīāl* (*Gavialis gangeticus*) is another.<sup>1</sup> It is said to grow large; many in the army saw it in the Sarū (Gogra) river. It is said to take people; while we were on that river's banks (934-935 A.H.), it took one or two slave-women (*dādūk*), and it took three or four camp-followers between Ghāzīpūr and Banāras. In that neighbourhood I saw one but from a distance only and not quite clearly.

Fol. 282.

The water-hog (P. *khūk-ābī*, *Platanista gangetica*, the porpoise) is another. This also is in all Hindūstān rivers. It comes up suddenly out of the water; its head appears and disappears; it dives again and stays below, shewing its tail. Its snout is as long as the *siyāh-sār's* and it has the same rows of small teeth. Its head and the rest of its body are fish-like. When at play in the water, it looks like a water-carrier's bag (*maskah*). Water-hogs, playing in the Sarū, leap right out of the water; like fish, they never leave it.

Again there is the *kalah* (or *galah*)-fish [*bāligh*].<sup>2</sup> Two bones

<sup>1</sup> This name as now used, is that of the purely fish-eating crocodile. [In the Turki text Bābur's account of the *gharīāl* follows that of the porpoise; but it is grouped here with those of the two other crocodiles.]

<sup>2</sup> As the Hai. MS. and also I.O. 216 f. 137 (Pers. trs.) write *kalah* (*galah*)-fish, this may be a large cray-fish. One called by a name approximating to *galah*-fish is found in Malāyan waters, viz. the *galah*-prawn (*hūdang*) (cf. Bengālī *gūla-chingrī*, *gūla*-prawn, Haughton). *Galah* and *gūla* may express lament made when the fish is caught (Haughton pp. 931, 933, 952); or if *kalah* be read, this may express scolding. Two good MSS. of the *Waqi'āt-i-bāburī* (Pers. trs.) write *kaka*; and their word cannot but have weight. Erskine reproduces *kaka* but offers no explanation of it, a failure betokening difficulty in his obtaining one. My husband suggests that *kaka* may represent a stuttering sound, doing so on the analogy of Vullers' explanation of the word, — *Vir ridiculus et facetus qui simul balbutiat*; and also he inclines to take the fish to be a crab (*kakra*). Possibly *kaka* is a popular or vulgar name for a cray-fish or a crab. Whether the sound is lament, scolding, or stuttering the fisherman knows! Shaikh Zain enlarges Bābur's notice of this fish; he says the bones are prolonged (*bar āwarāda*) from the ears, that these it agitates at time of capture, making a noise like the word *kaka* by which it is known, that it is two *wajāb* (18 in.) long, its flesh surprisingly tasty, and that it is very active, leaping a *gaz* (cir. a yard) out of the water when the fisherman's net is set to take it. For information about the Malāyan fish, I am indebted to Mr. Cecil Wray.

each about 3 inches (*āzīk*) long, come out in a line with its ears ; these it shakes when taken, producing an extraordinary noise, whence, seemingly, people have called it *kalah* [or *galah*].

The flesh of Hindūstān fishes is very savoury ; they have no odour (*āīd*) or tiresomeness.<sup>1</sup> They are surprisingly active. On one occasion when people coming, had flung a net across a stream, leaving its two edges half a yard above the water, most fish passed by leaping a yard above it. In many rivers are little fish which fling themselves a yard or more out of the water if there be harsh noise or sound of feet. Fol. 282b.

The frogs of Hindūstān, though otherwise like those others (Tramontane), run 6 or 7 yards on the face of the water.<sup>2</sup>

(I. Vegetable products of Hindūstān : Fruits.)

The mango (P. *ambah*) is one of the fruits peculiar to Hindūstān. Hindūstānīs pronounce the *b* in its name as though no vowel followed it (*i.e.* Sans. *amb*) ;<sup>3</sup> this being awkward to utter, some people call the fruit [P.] *naghzak*<sup>4</sup> as Khwāja Khusrau does :—

*Naghzak-i mā* [var. *khayash*] *naghz-kun-i būstān*,  
*Naghzatarīn mewā* [var. *na'mat*]-i-Hindūstān.<sup>5</sup>

Mangoes when good, are very good, but, many as are eaten, few are first-rate. They are usually plucked unripe and ripened in the house. Unripe, they make excellent condiments (*qāīṭiq*), are good also preserved in syrup.<sup>6</sup> Taking it altogether, the mango is the best fruit of Hindūstān. Some so praise it as to give it preference over all fruits except the musk-melon (T. *qārwūn*), but

<sup>1</sup> T. *qiyūnlīghī*, presumably referring to spines or difficult bones ; T. *qīn*, however, means a scabbard [Shaw].

<sup>2</sup> One of the common frogs is a small one which, when alarmed, jumps along the surface of the water (G. of I. i, 273).

<sup>3</sup> *Am̄b* and *ambah* (pronounced *amb* and *ambah*) are now less commonly used names than *ām*. It is an interesting comment on Bābur's words that Abū'l-faḏl spells *amb*, letter by letter, and says that the *b* is quiescent (*Āyīn* 28 ; for the origin of the word mango, *vide* Yule's H.J. s.n.).

<sup>4</sup> A corresponding diminutive would be *fairling*.

<sup>5</sup> The variants, entered in parenthesis, are found in the Bib. Ind. ed. of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* p. 75 and in a (bazar) copy of the *Qur'ānī's-sū'dāin* in my husband's possession. As Amīr Khusrau was a poet of Hindūstān, either *khayash* (*khayash*) [our own] or *mā* [our] would suit his meaning. The couplet is, literally :—

Our fairling, [*i.e.* mango] beauty-maker of the garden,  
Fairest fruit of Hindūstān.

<sup>6</sup> Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail Ludī* in 929 A.H. sent Bābur a gift of mangoes preserved in honey (*in loco* p. 440).



such praise outmatches it. It resembles the *kārdī* peach.<sup>1</sup> It ripens in the rains. It is eaten in two ways : one is to squeeze it to a pulp, make a hole in it, and suck out the juice,—the other, to peel and eat it like the *kārdī* peach. Its tree grows very large<sup>2</sup> and has a leaf somewhat resembling the peach-tree's. The trunk is ill-looking and ill-shaped, but in Bengāl and Gujrāt is heard of as growing handsome (*khūb*).<sup>3</sup>

The plantain (Sans. *kelā*, *Musa sapientum*) is another.<sup>4</sup> An Arab calls it *mauz*.<sup>5</sup> Its tree is not very tall, indeed is not to be called a tree, since it is something between a grass and a tree. Its leaf is a little like that of the *amān-garā*<sup>6</sup> but grows about 2 yards (*qārī*) long and nearly one broad. Out of the middle of its leaves rises, heart-like, a bud which resembles a sheep's heart. As each leaf (petal) of this bud expands, there grows at its base a row of 6 or 7 flowers which become the plantains. These flowers become visible with the lengthening of the heart-like shoot and the opening of the petals of the bud. The tree is understood to flower once only.<sup>7</sup> The fruit has two pleasant qualities, one that it peels easily, the other that it has neither stone nor fibre.<sup>8</sup> It is rather longer and thinner than the egg-plant (*P. bādanjān* ; *Solanum melongena*). It is not very sweet ; the Bengāl plantain (*i.e.* *chīnī-champa*) is, however, said to be very

<sup>1</sup> I have learned nothing more definite about the word *kārdī* than that it is the name of a superior kind of peach (*Ghiyāsu'l-tughat*).

<sup>2</sup> The preceding sentence is out of place in the Turkī text ; it may therefore be a marginal note, perhaps not made by Bābur.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence suggests that Bābur, writing in Āgra or Fatḥpūr did not there see fine mango-trees.

<sup>4</sup> See Yule's H. J. on the plantain, the banana of the West.

<sup>5</sup> This word is a descendant of Sanscrit *mocha*, and parent of *musa* the botanical name of the fruit (Yule).

<sup>6</sup> Shaikh Effendī (Kunos), Zenker and de Courteille say of this only that it is the name of a tree. Shaw gives a name that approaches it, *ārman*, a grass, a weed ; Scully explains this as *Artemisia vulgaris*, wormwood, but Roxburgh gives no *Artemisia* having a leaf resembling the plantain's. Scully has *arāmādān*, unexplained, which, like *amān-garā*, may refer to comfort in shade. Bābur's comparison will be with something known in Transoxiana. Maize has general resemblance with the plantain. So too have the names of the plants, since *mocha* and *mauz* stand for the plantain and (Hīndī) *mukāḍī* for maize. These incidental resemblances bear, however lightly, on the question considered in the Ency. Br. (art. maize) whether maize was early in Asia or not ; some writers hold that it was ; if Bābur's *amān-garā* were maize, maize will have been familiar in Transoxiana in his day.

<sup>7</sup> Abū'l-faḍl mentions that the plantain-tree bears no second crop unless cut down to the stump.

<sup>8</sup> Bābur was fortunate not to have met with a seed-bearing plantain.

sweet. The plantain is a very good-looking tree, its broad, broad, leaves of beautiful green having an excellent appearance.

The *anblī* (H. *imlī*, *Tamarindus indica*, the tamarind) is another. By this name (*anblī*) people call the *khurmā-i-hind* (Indian date-tree).<sup>1</sup> It has finely-cut leaves (leaflets), precisely like those of the (T.) *būzā*, except that they are not so finely-cut.<sup>2</sup> It is a very good-looking tree, giving dense shade. It grows wild in masses too.

The (Beng.) *mahuwā* (*Bassia latifolia*) is another.<sup>3</sup> People call it also (P.) *gul-chikān* (or *chigān*, distilling-flower). This also is a very large tree. Most of the wood in the houses of Hindū-stānīs is from it. Spirit ('*araq*) is distilled from its flowers,<sup>4</sup> not only so, but they are dried and eaten like raisins, and from them thus dried, spirit is also extracted. The dried flowers taste just like *kishmīsh*; <sup>5</sup> they have an ill-flavour. The flowers are not bad in their natural state<sup>6</sup>; they are eatable. The *mahuwā* grows wild also. Its fruit is tasteless, has rather a large seed with a thin husk, and from this seed, again,<sup>7</sup> oil is extracted.

Fol. 283b.

The mimusops (Sans. *khīrnī*, *Mimusops kauki*) is another. Its tree, though not very large, is not small. The fruit is yellow and

<sup>1</sup> The ripe "dates" are called P. *tamar-i Hind*, whence our tamarind, and *Tamarindus Indica*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sophora alopecuroides*, a leguminous plant (Scully).

<sup>3</sup> Abū'l-fazl gives *galaundā* as the name of the "fruit" [*mewa*],—Forbes, as that of the fallen flower. Cf. Brandis p. 426 and Yule's H.J. s.n. Mohwa.

<sup>4</sup> Bābur seems to say that spirit is extracted from both the fresh and the dried flowers. The fresh ones are favourite food with deer and jackals; they have a sweet spirituous taste. Erskine notes that the spirit made from them was well-known in Bombay by the name of Moura, or of Parsi-brandy, and that the farm of it was a considerable article of revenue (p. 325 n.). Roxburgh describes it as strong and intoxicating (p. 411).

<sup>5</sup> This is the name of a green, stoneless grape which when dried, results in a raisin resembling the sultanas of Europe (*Jahāngīr's Memoirs* and Yule's H.J. s.n.; Griffiths' *Journal of Travel* pp. 359, 388).

<sup>6</sup> *Aūl*, lit. the *aūl* of the flower. The Persian translation renders *aūl* by *bū* which may allow both words to be understood in their (root) sense of *being*, i.e. natural state. De Courteille translates by *quand la fleur est fraîche* (ii, 210); Erskine took *bū* to mean smell (*Memoirs* p. 325), but the *aūl* it translates, does not seem to have this meaning. For reading *aūl* as "the natural state", there is circumstantial support in the flower's being eaten raw (Roxburgh). The annotator of the Elphinstone MS. [whose defacement of that Codex has been often mentioned], has added points and *tashād* to the *aūl-i* (i.e. its *aūl*), so as to produce *awwalī* (first, f. 235). Against this there are the obvious objections that the Persian translation does not reproduce, and that its *bū* does not render *awwalī*; also that *aūl-i* is a noun with its enclitic genitive *yā* (*ī*).

<sup>7</sup> This word seems to be meant to draw attention to the various merits of the *mahuwā* tree.

thinner than the red jujube (T. *chīkdā*, *Elæagnus angustifolia*). It has just the grape's flavour, but a rather bad after-taste; it is not bad, however, and is eatable. The husk of its stone is thin.

The (Sans.) *jāman* (*Eugenia jambolana*)<sup>1</sup> is another. Its leaf, except for being thicker and greener, is quite like the willow's (T. *tāl*). The tree does not want for beauty. Its fruit is like a black grape, is sourish, and not very good.

The (H.) *kamrak* (Beng. *kamrunḡa*, *Averrhoa carambola*) is another. Its fruit is five-sided, about as large as the 'ain-ālū<sup>2</sup> and some 3 inches long. It ripens to yellow; gathered unripe, it is very bitter; gathered ripe, its bitterness has become subacid, not bad, not wanting in pleasantness.<sup>3</sup>

The jack-fruit (H. *kadhil*, B. *kanthal*, *Artocarpus integrifolia*) is another.<sup>4</sup> This is a fruit of singular form and flavour; it looks like a sheep's stomach stuffed and made into a haggis (*gīpa*);<sup>5</sup> and it is sickeningly-sweet. Inside it are filbert-like stones<sup>6</sup> which, on the whole, resemble dates, but are round, not long, and have softer substance; these are eaten. The jack-fruit is very adhesive; for this reason people are said to oil mouth and hands before eating of it. It is heard of also as growing, not only on the branches of its tree, but on trunk and root too.<sup>7</sup> One would say that the tree was all hung round with haggises.<sup>8</sup>

The monkey-jack (H. *badhal*, B. *burhul*, *Artocarpus lacoocha*) is another. The fruit may be of the size of a quince (var. apple).

<sup>1</sup> Erskine notes that this is not to be confounded with E. *jāmbū*, the rose-apple (*Memoirs* p. 325 n.). Cf. Yule's H.J. s.n. *Jambu*.

<sup>2</sup> var. *ghat-ālū*, *ghab-ālū*, *ghain-ālū*, *shafi-ālū*. Scully enters 'ain-ālū (true-plum?) unexplained. The *kamrak* fruit is 3 in. long (Brandis) and of the size of a lemon (Firminger); dimensions which make Bābur's 4 *ailik* (hand's-thickness) a slight excess only, and which thus allow *ailik*, with its Persian translation, *angusht*, to be approximately an inch.

<sup>3</sup> Speede, giving the fruit its Sanscrit name *kamarunḡa*, says it is acid, rather pleasant, something like an insipid apple; also that its pretty pink blossoms grow on the trunk and main branches (i, 211).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Yule's H.J. s.n. jack-fruit. In a Calcutta nurseryman's catalogue of 1914 A.D. three kinds of jack-tree are offered for sale, viz. "Crispy or Khaja, Soft or Neo, Rose-scented" (Seth, Feronia Nursery).

<sup>5</sup> The *gīpa* is a sheep's stomach stuffed with rice, minced meat, and spices, and boiled as a pudding. The resemblance of the jack, as it hangs on the tree, to the haggis, is wonderfully complete (Erskine).

<sup>6</sup> These when roasted have the taste of chestnuts.

<sup>7</sup> Firminger (p. 186) describes an ingenious method of training.

<sup>8</sup> For a note of Humāyūn's on the jack-fruit see Appendix O.

Its smell is not bad.<sup>1</sup> Unripe it is a singularly tasteless and empty<sup>2</sup> thing ; when ripe, it is not so bad. It ripens soft, can be pulled to pieces and eaten anywhere, tastes very much like a rotten quince, and has an excellent little austere flavour.

The lote-fruit (Sans. *ber*, *Zizyphus jujuba*) is another. Its Persian name is understood to be *kanār*.<sup>3</sup> It is of several kinds : of one the fruit is larger than the plum (*ālūcha*)<sup>4</sup> ; another is shaped like the Ḥusainī grape. Most of them are not very good ; we saw one in Bāndīr (Gūālīār) that was really good. The lote-tree sheds its leaves under the Signs *Ṣaur* and *Jauzā* (Bull and Twins), burgeons under *Saratān* and *Asad* (Crab and Lion) which are the true rainy-season,—then becoming fresh and green, and it ripens its fruit under *Dalū* and *Ḥaut* (Bucket *i.e.* Aquarius, and Fish).

The (Sans.) *karaūndā* (*Carissa carandas*, the corinda) is another. It grows in bushes after the fashion of the (T.) *chīka* of our country,<sup>5</sup> but the *chīka* grows on mountains, the *karaūndā* on the plains. In flavour it is like the rhubarb itself,<sup>6</sup> but is sweeter and less juicy.

Fol. 284b.

The (Sans.) *pānīyālā* (*Flacourtia cataphracta*)<sup>7</sup> is another. It is larger than the plum (*ālūcha*) and like the red-apple unripe.<sup>8</sup> It is a little austere and is good. The tree is taller than the pomegranate's ; its leaf is like that of the almond-tree but smaller.

<sup>1</sup> *āid-i-yamān aimās*. It is somewhat curious that Bābur makes no comment on the odour of the jack itself.

<sup>2</sup> *bāsh*, English bosh (Shaw). The Persian translation inserts no more about this fruit.

<sup>3</sup> Steingass applies this name to the plantain.

<sup>4</sup> Erskine notes that "this is the bullace-plum, small, not more than twice as large as the sloe and not so high-flavoured ; it is generally yellow, sometimes red." Like Bābur, Brandis enumerates several varieties and mentions the seasonal changes of the tree (p. 170).

<sup>5</sup> This will be Kābul, probably, because Transoxiana is written of by Bābur usually, if not invariably, as "that country", and because he mentions the *chīkā* (*i.e.* *chīka* ?), under its Persian name *sinjā*, in his *Description of Kābul* (f. 129b).

<sup>6</sup> *P. mar manjān*, which I take to refer to the *rīwājīlār* of Kābul. (Cf. f. 129b, where, however, (note 5) are *corrigenda* of Masson's *ravash* for *rīwāj*, and his third to second volume.) Kehr's Codex contains an extra passage about the *karaūn āū*, *viz.* that from it is made a tasty fritter-like dish, resembling a rhubarb-fritter (Ilminsky, p. 369).

<sup>7</sup> People call it (P.) *pālāsa* also (Elph. MS. f. 236, marginal note).

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the red-apple of Kābul, where two sorts are common, both rosy, one very much so, but much inferior to the other (Griffith's *Journal of Travel* p. 388).

The (H.) *gūlar* (*Ficus glomerata*, the clustered fig)<sup>1</sup> is another. The fruit grows out of the tree-trunk, resembles the fig (*P. anjīr*), but is singularly tasteless.

The (Sans.) *āmlā* (*Phyllanthus emblica*, the myrobalan-tree) is another. This also is a five-sided fruit.<sup>2</sup> It looks like the unblown cotton-pod. It is an astringent and ill-flavoured thing, but confiture made of it is not bad. It is a wholesome fruit. Its tree is of excellent form and has very minute leaves.

The (H.) *chirūnjī* (*Buchanania latifolia*)<sup>3</sup> is another. This tree had been understood to grow in the hills, but I knew later about it, because there were three or four clumps of it in our gardens. It is much like the *mahuwā*. Its kernel is not bad, a thing between the walnut and the almond, not bad! rather smaller than the pistachio and round; people put it in custards (*P. pālūda*) and sweetmeats (Ar. *halwa*).

The date-palm (*P. khurmā*, *Phoenix dactylifera*) is another. This is not peculiar to Hindūstān, but is here described because it is not in those countries (Tramontana). It grows in Lamghān also.<sup>4</sup> Its branches (*i.e.* leaves) grow from just one place at its top; its leaves (*i.e.* leaflets) grow on both sides of the branches (midribs) from neck (*būn*) to tip; its trunk is rough and ill-coloured; its fruit is like a bunch of grapes, but much larger. People say that the date-palm amongst vegetables resembles an animal in two respects: one is that, as, if an animal's head be cut off, its life is taken, so it is with the date-palm, if its head is cut off, it dries off; the other is that, as the offspring of animals is not produced without the male, so too with the date-palm, it gives no good fruit unless a branch of the male-tree be brought into touch with the female-tree. The truth of this last matter is not known (to me). The above-mentioned head of the date-palm is called its cheese. The tree so grows that where its leaves come out is cheese-white, the leaves becoming green as they lengthen. This white part, the so-called cheese, is tolerable eating, not bad, much like the walnut. People make a wound in

<sup>1</sup> Its downy fruit grows in bundles from the trunk and large branches (Roxburgh).

<sup>2</sup> The reference by "also" (*ham*) will be to the *kamrāk* (f. 283<sup>b</sup>), but both Roxburgh and Brandis say the *āmlā* is six striated.

<sup>3</sup> The Sanscrit and Bengālī name for the *chirūnjī*-tree is *ṣṛyala* (Roxburgh p. 363).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. f. 250<sup>b</sup>.

the cheese, and into this wound insert a leaf(let), in such a way that all liquid flowing from the wound runs down it.<sup>1</sup> The tip of the leaflet is set over the mouth of a pot suspended to the tree in such a way that it collects whatever liquor is yielded by the wound. This liquor is rather pleasant if drunk at once; if drunk after two or three days, people say it is quite exhilarating (*kaifīyat*). Once when I had gone to visit Bārī,<sup>2</sup> and made an excursion to the villages on the bank of the Chambal-river, we met in with people collecting this date-liquor in the valley-bottom. A good deal was drunk; no hilarity was felt; much must be drunk, seemingly, to produce a little cheer. Fol. 285r.

The coco-nut palm (P. *nārgīl*, *Cocos nucifera*) is another. An Arab gives it Arabic form<sup>3</sup> and says *nārjīl*; Hindūstān people say *nālīr*, seemingly by popular error.<sup>4</sup> Its fruit is the Hindūnut from which black spoons (*qarā qāshūq*) are made and the larger ones of which serve for guitar-bodies. The coco-palm has general resemblance to the date-palm, but has more, and more glistening leaves. Like the walnut, the coco-nut has a green outer husk; but its husk is of fibre on fibre. All ropes for ships and boats and also cord for sewing boat-seams are heard of as made from these husks. The nut, when stripped of its husk, near one end shews a triangle of hollows, two of which are solid, the third a nothing (*būsh*), easily pierced. Before the kernel forms, there is fluid inside; people pierce the soft hollow and drink this; it tastes like date-palm cheese in solution, and is not bad.

The (Sans.) *tār* (*Borassus flabelliformis*, the Palmyra-palm) is another. Its branches (*i.e.* leaves) also are quite at its top. Just as with the date-palm, people hang a pot on it, take its juice and drink it. They call this liquor *tārī*;<sup>5</sup> it is said to be more exhilarating than date liquor. For about a yard along its branches Fol. 286.

<sup>1</sup> The leaflet is rigid enough to serve as a runlet, but soon wears out; for this reason, the usual practice is to use one of split bamboo.

<sup>2</sup> This is a famous hunting-ground between Biāna and Dhūlpūr, Rājputāna, visited in 933 AH. (f. 330b). Bābūr's great-great-grandson Shāh-jahān built a hunting-lodge there (G. of I.).

<sup>3</sup> Hai. MS. *mu'arrāb*, but the Elph. MS. *maghrīb*, [occidentalizing]. The Hai. MS. when writing of the orange (*infra*) also has *maghrīb*. A distinction of locality may be drawn by *maghrīb*.

<sup>4</sup> Bābūr's "Hindūstān people" (*āīl*) are those neither Turks nor Afghāns.

<sup>5</sup> This name, with its usual form *tādī* (toddy), is used for the fermented sap of the date, coco, and *māhr* palms also (cf. Yule's H.J. s.n. toddy).

(*i.e.* leaf-stems)<sup>1</sup> there are no leaves; above this, at the tip of the branch (stem), 30 or 40 open out like the spread palm of the hand, all from one place. These leaves approach a yard in length. People often write Hindī characters on them after the fashion of account rolls (*daftar yūsūnlūq*).

The orange (Ar. *nāranj*, *Citrus aurantium*) and orange-like fruits are others of Hindūstān.<sup>2</sup> Oranges grow well in the Lamghānāt, Bajaur and Sawād. The Lamghānāt one is smallish, has a navel,<sup>3</sup> is very agreeable, fragile and juicy. It is not at all like the orange of Khurāsān and those parts, being so fragile that many spoil before reaching Kābul from the Lamghānāt which may be 13–14 *yīghāch* (65–70 miles), while the Astarābād orange, by reason of its thick skin and scant juice, carries with less damage from there to Samarkand, some 270–280 *yīghāch*.<sup>4</sup> The Bajaur orange is about as large as a quince, very juicy and more acid than other oranges. Khwāja Kalān once said to me, “We counted the oranges gathered from a single tree of this sort in Bajaur and it mounted up to 7,000.” It had been always in my mind that the word *nāranj* was an Arabic form;<sup>5</sup> it would seem to be really so, since every-one in Bajaur and Sawād says (P.) *nārang*.<sup>6</sup>

Fol. 286b.

<sup>1</sup> Bābur writes of the long leaf-stalk as a branch (*shākh*); he also seems to have taken each spike of the fan-leaf to represent a separate leaf. [For two omissions from my trs. see Appendix O.]

<sup>2</sup> Most of the fruits Bābur describes as orange-like are named in the following classified list, taken from Watts' *Economic Products of India*:—“*Citrus aurantium*, *narangi*, *sangtara*, *amrit-phal*; *C. decumana*, *pumelo*, *shaddock*, *forbidden-fruit*, *sada-phal*; *C. medica* proper, *turunj*, *limu*; *C. medica limonum*, *jambhira*, *karna-nēbu*.” Under *C. aurantium* Brandis enters both the sweet and the Seville oranges (*nārangī*); this Bābur appears to do also.

<sup>3</sup> *kīndākkīkh*, explained in the Elph. Codex by *nāfwār* (f. 238). This detail is omitted by the Persian translation. Firminger's description (p. 221) of Aurangābād oranges suggests that they also are navel-oranges. At the present time one of the best oranges had in England is the navel one of California.

<sup>4</sup> Useful addition is made to earlier notes on the variability of the *yīghāch*, a variability depending on time taken to cover the ground, by the following passage from Henderson and Hume's *Lahor to Yarkand* (p. 120), which shews that even in the last century the *farsang* (the P. word used in the Persian translation of the *Bābur-nāma* for T. *yīghāch*) was computed by time. “All the way from Kargallik (Qārghalliq) to Yarkand, there were tall wooden mile-posts along the roads, at intervals of about 5 miles, or rather one hour's journey, apart. On a board at the top of each post, or *farsang* as it is called, the distances were very legibly written in Turki.”

<sup>5</sup> *ma'rib*, Elph. MS. *magharrib*; (cf. f. 285b note).

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* *nārang* (Sans. *nārangū*) has been changed to *nāranj* in the ‘Arab mouth. What is probably one of Humayūn's notes preserved by the Elph. Codex (f. 238), appears to say—it is mutilated—that *nārang* has been corrupted into *nāranj*.

The lime (*B. limū*, *C. acida*) is another. It is very plentiful, about the size of a hen's egg, and of the same shape. If a person poisoned drink the water in which its fibres have been boiled, danger is averted.<sup>1</sup>

The citron (*P. turunj*,<sup>2</sup> *C. medica*) is another of the fruits resembling the orange. Bajauris and Sawādīs call it *bālang* and hence give the name *bālang-marabbā* to its marmalade (*marabbā*) confiture. In Hindūstān people call the *turunj bajaurī*.<sup>3</sup> There are two kinds of *turunj*: one is sweet, flavourless and nauseating, of no use for eating but with peel that may be good for marmalade; it has the same sickening sweetness as the Lamghānāt *turunj*; the other, that of Hindūstān and Bajaur, is acid, quite deliciously acid, and makes excellent sherbet, well-flavoured, and wholesome drinking. Its size may be that of the Khusrawī melon; it has a thick skin, wrinkled and uneven, with one end thinner and beaked. It is of a deeper yellow than the orange (*nāranj*). Its tree has no trunk, is rather low, grows in bushes, and has a larger leaf than the orange. Fol. 287.

The *sangtāra*<sup>4</sup> is another fruit resembling the orange (*nāranj*).

<sup>1</sup> The Elph. Codex has a note—mutilated in early binding—which is attested by its scribe as copied from Humāyūn's hand-writing, and is to the effect that once on his way from the Hot-bath, he saw people who had taken poison and restored them by giving lime-juice.

Erskine here notes that the same antidotal quality is ascribed to the citron by Virgil:—

Media fert tristes succos. tardumque saporem  
Felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum,  
Pocula si quando saevae infecere novercae,  
Miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba,  
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra venena.

Georgics II. v. 126.

Vide Heyne's note i, 438.

<sup>2</sup> *P. turunj*, wrinkled, puckered; Sans. *viṣṭpūra* and H. *bijaurā* (*Āyīn* 28), seed-filled.

<sup>3</sup> Bābur may have confused this with H. *bijaurā*; so too appears to have done the writer (Humāyūn?) of a [now mutilated] note in the Elph. Codex (f. 238), which seems to say that the fruit or its name went from Bajaur to Hindūstān. Is the country of Bajaur so-named from its indigenous orange (*viṣṭpūra*, whence *bijaurā*)? The name occurs also north of Kangra.

<sup>4</sup> Of this name variants are numerous, *santra*, *santhara*, *samtara*, etc. Watts classes it as a *C. aurantium*; Erskine makes it the common sweet orange; Firminger, quoting Ross (p. 221) writes that, as grown in the Nagpur gardens it is one of the finest Indian oranges, with rind thin, smooth and close. The Emperor Muḥammad Shāh is said to have altered its name to *rang-tāra* because of its fine colour (*rang*) (Forbes). Speede (ii, 109) gives both names. As to the meaning and origin of the name *samtara* or *santra*, so suggestive of Cintra, the Portuguese home of a similar orange, it may be said that it looks like a hill-name used in N.E. India, for there is a village in the



It is like the citron (*turunj*) in colour and form, but has both ends of its skin level ;<sup>1</sup> also it is not rough and is somewhat the smaller fruit. Its tree is large, as large as the apricot (*aūrūq*), with a leaf like the orange's. It is a deliciously acid fruit, making a very pleasant and wholesome sherbet. Like the lime it is a powerful stomachic, but not weakening like the orange (*nāranj*).

The large lime which they call (H.) *gal-gal*<sup>2</sup> in Hindūstān is another fruit resembling the orange. It has the shape of a goose's egg, but unlike that egg, does not taper to the ends. Its skin is smooth like the *sangtāra*'s ; it is remarkably juicy.

The (H.) *jānbīrī* lime<sup>3</sup> is another orange-like fruit. It is orange-shaped and, though yellow, not orange-yellow. It smells like the citron (*turunj*) ; it too is deliciously acid.

The (Sans.) *sadā-fal* (*phal*)<sup>4</sup> is another orange-like fruit. This is pear-shaped, colours like the quince, ripens sweet, but not to the sickly-sweetness of the orange (*nāranj*).

The *amrd-fal* (sic. Hai. MS.—Sans. *amrit-phal*)<sup>5</sup> is another orange-like fruit.

The lemon (H. *karnā*, *C. limonum*) is another fruit resembling the orange (*nāranj*) ; it may be as large as the *gal-gal* and is also acid.

The (Sans.) *amal-bīd*<sup>6</sup> is another fruit resembling the orange.

Bhutan Hills, (Western Duars) known from its orange groves as Santra-bārī, Abode of the orange. To this (mentioned already as my husband's suggestion in Mr. Crooke's ed. of Yule's H.J.) support is given by the item "Suntura, famous Nipal variety", entered in Seth's Nursery-list of 1914 (Feronia Nurseries, Calcutta). Light on the question of origin could be thrown, no doubt, by those acquainted with the dialects of the hill-tract concerned.

<sup>1</sup> This refers, presumably, to the absence of the beak characteristic of all citrons.

<sup>2</sup> melter, from the Sans. root *gal*, which provides the names of several lemons by reason of their solvent quality, specified by Bābur (*infra*) of the *amal-bīd*. Erskine notes that in his day the *gal-gal* was known as *kilmek* (*galmak* ?).

<sup>3</sup> Sans. *jambīrā*, H. *jambīr*, classed by Abū'l-fazl as one of the somewhat sour fruits and by Watts as *Citrus medica limonum*.

<sup>4</sup> Watts, *C. decumana*, the shaddock or pumelo ; Firminger (p. 223) has *C. decumana pyriformis* suiting Bābur's "pear-shaped". What Bābur compared it with will be the Transoxanian pear and quince (*P. amrūd* and *bīhī*) and not the Indian guava and Bengal quince (*P. amrūd* and *H. bael*).

<sup>5</sup> The Turki text writes *amrd*. Watts classes the *amrit-phal* as a *C. aurantium*. This supports Erskine's suggestion that it is the mandarin-orange. Humāyūn describes it in a note which is written pell-mell in the text of the Elph. Codex and contains also descriptions of the *kāmīla* and *santara* oranges ; it can be seen translated in Appendix O.

<sup>6</sup> So spelled in the Turki text and also in two good MSS. of the Pers. trs. I.O. 217 and 218, but by Abū'l-fazl *amal-bīt*. Both P. *bīd* and P. *bīt* mean willow and cane (*ratan*), so that *amal-bīd* (*bīt*) can mean acid-willow and acid-cane. But as

After three years (in Hindūstān), it was first seen to-day.<sup>1</sup> They say a needle melts away if put inside it,<sup>2</sup> either from its acidity or some other property. It is as acid, perhaps, as the citron and lemon (*turunj* and *līmū*).<sup>3</sup> Fol. 287b.

(*n. Vegetable products of Hindūstān :—Flowers.*)

In Hindūstān there is great variety of flowers. One is the (D.) *jāsūn* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*), which some Hindūstānīs call (Hindī) *garhal*.<sup>4</sup> \*It is not a grass (*giyāh*); its tree (is in stems like the bush of the red-rose; it) is rather taller than the bush of the red-rose.<sup>5</sup> \* The flower of the *jāsūn* is fuller in colour than that of the pomegranate, and may be of the size of the red-rose, but, the red-rose, when its bud has grown, opens simply, whereas, when the *jāsūn*-bud opens, a stem on which other petals grow, is seen like a heart amongst its expanded petals. Though the two are parts of the one flower, yet the outcome of the lengthening and thinning of that stem-like heart of the first-opened petals gives the semblance of two flowers.<sup>6</sup> It is not a common matter. The beautifully coloured flowers look very well on the tree, but

Bābur is writing of a fruit like an orange, the cane that bears an acid fruit, *Calamus rotang*, can be left aside in favour of *Citrus medica acidissima*. Of this fruit the solvent property Bābur mentions, as well as the commonly-known service in cleansing metal, link it, by these uses, with the willow and suggest a ground for understanding, as Erskine did, that *amal-bīd* meant acid-willow; for willow-wood is used to rub rust off metal.

<sup>1</sup> This statement shows that Bābur was writing the *Description of Hindūstān* in 935 AH. (1528–9 AD.), which is the date given for it by Shaikh Zain.

<sup>2</sup> This story of the needle is believed in India of all the citron kind, which are hence called *sūi-gal* (needle-melter) in the Dakhin (Erskine). Cf. Forbes, p. 489 s.n. *sūi-gal*.

<sup>3</sup> Erskine here quotes information from Abū'l-faẓl (*Āyin* 28) about Akbar's encouragement of the cultivation of fruits.

<sup>4</sup> Hindustani (Urdu) *garhal*. Many varieties of *Hibiscus* (syn. *Althea*) grow in India; some thrive in Surrey gardens; the *jāsūn* by name and colour can be taken as what is known in Malayan, Tamil, etc., as the shoe-flower, from its use in darkening leather (Yule's H.J.).

<sup>5</sup> I surmise that what I have placed between asterisks here belongs to the next-following plant, the oleander. For though the branches of the *jāsūn* grow vertically, the bush is a dense mass upon one stout trunk, or stout short stem. The words placed in parenthesis above are not with the Haidarabad but are with the Elphinstone Codex. There would seem to have been a scribe's skip from one "rose" to the other. As has been shewn repeatedly, this part of the Bābur-nāma has been much annotated; in the Elph. Codex, where only most of the notes are preserved, some are entered by the scribe pell-mell into Bābur's text. The present instance may be a case of a marginal note, added to the text in a wrong place.

<sup>6</sup> The peduncle supporting the plume of medial petals is clearly seen only when the flower opens first. The plumed *Hibiscus* is found in florists' catalogues described as "double".

they do not last long; they fade in just one day. The *jāsūn* blossoms very well through the four months of the rains; it seems indeed to flower all through the year; with this profusion, however, it gives no perfume.

The (H.) *kanīr* (*Nerium odorum*, the oleander)<sup>1</sup> is another. It grows both red and white. Like the peach-flower, it is five petalled. It is like the peach-bloom (in colour?), but opens 14 or 15 flowers from one place, so that seen from a distance, they look like one great flower. The oleander-bush is taller than the rose-bush. The red oleander has a sort of scent, faint and agreeable. (Like the *jāsūn*), it also blooms well and profusely in the rains, and it also is had through most of the year.

Fol. 288.

The (H.) (*kūrā*) (*Pandanus odoratissimus*, the screw-pine) is another.<sup>2</sup> It has a very agreeable perfume.<sup>3</sup> Musk has the defect of being dry; this may be called moist musk—a very agreeable perfume. The tree's singular appearance notwithstanding, it has flowers perhaps 1½ to 2 *qārīsh* (13½ to 18 inches) long. It has long leaves having the character of the reed (P.) *gharau*<sup>4</sup> and having spines. Of these leaves, while pressed together bud-like, the outer ones are the greener and more spiny; the inner ones are soft and white. In amongst these inner leaves grow things like what belongs to the middle of a flower, and from these things comes the excellent perfume. When the tree first comes up not yet shewing any trunk, it is like the bush (*būta*) of the male-reed,<sup>5</sup> but with wider and more spiny leaves. What serves it for a trunk is very shapeless, its roots remaining shewn.

<sup>1</sup> This Anglo-Indians call also rose-bay. A Persian name appears to be *zahr-giyāh*, poison-grass, which makes it the more probable that the doubtful passage in the previous description of the *jāsūn* belongs to the rod-like oleander, known as the poison-grass. The oleander is common in river-beds over much country known to Bābur, outside India.

<sup>2</sup> Roxburgh gives a full and interesting account of this tree.

<sup>3</sup> Here the Elph. Codex, only, has the (seeming) note, "An 'Arab calls it *kāzī*" (or *kāwī*). This fills out Steingass' part-explanation of *kāwī*, "the blossom of the fragrant palm-tree, *armāt*" (p. 1010), and of *armāt*, "a kind of date-tree with a fragrant blossom" (p. 39), by making *armāt* and *kāwī* seem to be the *Pandanus* and its flower.

<sup>4</sup> *Calamus scriptorius* (Vullers ii, 607. H. B.). Abū'l-fazl compares the leaves to *jawārī*, the great millet (Forbes); Blochmann (A. A. p. 83) translates *jawārī* by *maize* (*juwārā*, Forbes).

<sup>5</sup> T. *āirkāk-gūmūsh*, a name Scully enters unexplained. Under *gūmūsh* (reed) he enters *Arundo madagascarensis*; Bābur's comparison will be with some Transoxanian *Arundo* or *Calamus*, presumably.

The (P.) *yāsman* (jasmine) is another ; the white they call (B.) *chamṡa*.<sup>1</sup> It is larger and more strongly scented than our *yāsman*-flower.

(n. *Seasons of the year.*)

Again:—whereas there are four seasons in those countries,<sup>2</sup> there are three in Hindūstān, namely, four months are summer ; four are the rains ; four are winter. The beginning of their months is from the welcome of the crescent-moons.<sup>3</sup> Every three years they add a month to the year ; if one had been added to the rainy season, the next is added, three years later, to the winter months, the next, in the same way, to the hot months. This is their mode of intercalation.<sup>4</sup> (*Chait, Baisākh, Jeth* and *Asārḥ*) are the hot months, corresponding with the Fish, (Ram, Bull and Twins ; *Sāwan, Bhādoṅ, Kū,ār* and *Kātik*) are the rainy months, corresponding with the Crab, (Lion, Virgin and Balance ; *Aghan, Pūs, Māgh* and *Phālgun*) are the cold months, corresponding with the Scorpion, (Archer, Capricorn, and Bucket or Aquarius).

Fol. 288i.

The people of Hind, having thus divided the year into three seasons of four months each, divide each of those seasons by taking from each, the two months of the force of the heat, rain,<sup>5</sup> and cold. Of the hot months the last two, *i.e. Jeth* and *Asārḥ* are the force of the heat ; of the rainy months, the first two, *i.e. Sāwan* and *Bhādoṅ* are the force of the rains ; of the cold season, the middle two, *i.e. Pūs* and *Māgh* are the force of the cold. By this classification there are six seasons in Hindūstān.

<sup>1</sup> *Chamṡa* seems to have been Bābur's word (Elph. and Hai. MSS.), but is the (B.) name for *Michelia champaka* ; the Pers. translation corrects it by (B.) *chambeli*, (*yāsman*, jasmine).

<sup>2</sup> Here, "outside India" will be meant, where Hindū rules do not prevail.

<sup>3</sup> *Hind aīlārī-nīng ibtidā-sī hilāl aīlār-nīng istiḡbāl-dīn dūr*. The use here of *istiḡbāl*, welcome, attracts attention ; does it allude to the universal welcome of lighter nights ? or is it reminiscent of Muḡammadan welcome to the Moon's crescent in Shawwāl ?

<sup>4</sup> For an exact statement of the intercalary months *vide* Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, p. 91. In my next sentence (*supra*) the parenthesis-marks indicate blanks left on the page of the Hai. MS. as though waiting for information. These and other similar blanks make for the opinion that the Hai. Codex is a direct copy of Bābur's draft manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> The sextuple division (*ḡitu*) of the year is referred to on f. 284, where the Signs Crab and Lion are called the season of the true Rains.

*(o. Days of the week.)*

To the days also they have given names :—<sup>1</sup> (*Sanīchar* is Saturday ; *Rabī-bār* is Sunday ; *Som-wār* is Monday ; *Mangal-wār* is Tuesday ; *Budh-bār* is Wednesday ; *Brihaspat-bār* is Thursday ; *Shukr-bār* is Friday).

*(p. Divisions of time.)*

As in our countries what is known by the (Turkī) term *kīcha-gūndūz* (a day-and-night, nycthemeron) is divided into 24 parts, each called an hour (Ar. *sā'at*), and the hour is divided into 60 parts, each called a minute (Ar. *daqīqa*), so that a day-and-night

Fol. 289.

(*Author's note on the daqīqa.*) The *daqīqa* is about as long as six repetitions of the *Fātiḥa* with the *Bismillāh*, so that a day-and-night is as long as 8640 repetitions of the *Fātiḥa* with the *Bismillāh*.

consists of 1440 minutes,—so the people of Hind divide the night-and-day into 60 parts, each called a (S.) *g'harī*.<sup>2</sup> They also divide the night into four and the day into four, calling each part a (S.) *paḥr* (watch) which in Persian is a *pās*. A watch and watchman (*pās u pās-bān*) had been heard about (by us) in those countries (Transoxania), but without these particulars. Agreeing with the division into watches, a body of *g'harīālīs*<sup>3</sup> is chosen and appointed in all considerable towns of Hindūstān. They cast a broad brass (plate-) thing,<sup>4</sup> perhaps as large as a tray (*ṭabaq*) and about two hands'-thickness ; this they call a *g'harīāl* and hang up in a high place (*bīr buland yīr-dā*). Also they have a vessel perforated at the bottom like an hour-cup<sup>5</sup> and filling

<sup>1</sup> *Bābur* appears not to have entered either the Hindī or the Persian names of the week :—the *Ḥai*. MS. has a blank space ; the *Elph.* MS. had the Persian names only, and Hindī ones have been written in above these ; *Kehr* has the Persian ones only ; *Ilimsky* has added the Hindī ones. (The spelling of the Hindī names, in my translation, is copied from *Forbes' Dictionary*.)

<sup>2</sup> The *Ḥai*. MS. writes *garī* and *garīāl*. The word now stands for the hour of 60 minutes.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* gong-men. The name is applied also to an alligator *Lacertus gangeticus* (*Forbes*).

<sup>4</sup> There is some confusion in the text here, the *Ḥai*. MS. reading *biring-dīn tīshī* (?) *nīma qūūbtūrlār*—the *Elph.* MS. (f. 240b) *biring-dīn bīr yāssī nīma qūūbtūrlār*. The Persian translation, being based on the text of the *Elphinstone Codex* reads *as biring yak chīs pahmī rehhta and*. The word *tīshī* of the *Ḥai*. MS. may represent *tashī* plate or *yāssī*, broad ; against the latter however there is the sentence that follows and gives the size.

<sup>5</sup> Here again the wording of the *Ḥai*. MS. is not clear ; the sense however is obvious. Concerning the clepsydra *vide* A. A. *Jarrett*, ii, 15 and notes ; *Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities* ; *Yule's H.J. s.n.* *Ghurry*.

in one *g'harī* (i.e. 24 minutes). The *g'harīālīs* put this into water and wait till it fills. For example, they will put the perforated cup into water at day-birth; when it fills the first time, they strike the gong once with their mallets; when a second time, twice, and so on till the end of the watch. They announce the end of a watch by several rapid blows of their mallets. After these they pause; then strike once more, if the first day-watch has ended, twice if the second, three times if the third, and four times if the fourth. After the fourth day-watch, when the night-watches begin, these are gone through in the same way. It used to be the rule to beat the sign of a watch only when the watch ended; so that sleepers chancing to wake in the night and hear the sound of a third or fourth *g'harī*, would not know whether it was of the second or third night-watch. I therefore ordered that at night or on a cloudy day the sign of the watch should be struck after that of the *g'harī*, for example, that after striking the third *g'harī* of the first night-watch, the *g'harīālīs* were to pause and then strike the sign of the watch, in order to make it known that this third *g'harī* was of the first night-watch,—and that after striking four *g'harīs* of the third night-watch, they should pause and then strike the sign of the third watch, in order to make it known that this fourth *g'harī* was of the third night-watch. It did very well; anyone happening to wake in the night and hear the gong, would know what *g'harī* of what watch of night it was.

Fol. 289b.

Again, they divide the *g'harī* into 60 parts, each part being called a *pal*;<sup>1</sup> by this each night-and-day will consist of 3,500 *pals*.

Fol. 290.

(Author's note on the *pal*.) They say the length of a *pal* is the shutting and opening of the eyelids 60 times, which in a night-and-day would be 216,000 shuttings and openings of the eyes. Experiment shews that a *pal* is about equal to 8 repetitions of the *Qul-huwa-allāh*<sup>2</sup> and *Bismillāh*; this would be 28,000 repetitions in a night-and-day.

#### (g. Measures.)

The people of Hind have also well-arranged measures:—<sup>3</sup>  
 8 *ratīs* = 1 *māsha*; 4 *māsha* = 1 *tānk* = 32 *ratīs*; 5 *māsha* =  
 1 *miṣṣāl* = 40 *ratīs*; 12 *māsha* = 1 *tūla* = 96 *ratīs*; 14 *tūla* = 1 *ser*.

<sup>1</sup> The table is:—60 *bīpals* = 1 *pal*; 60 *pals* = 1 *g'harī* (24 m.); 60 *g'harī* or 8 *pahr* = one *dīn-rāt* (nycthemeron).

<sup>2</sup> Qorān, cap. CXII, which is a declaration of God's unity.

<sup>3</sup> The (S.) *ratī* = 8 rice-grains (Eng. 8 barley-corns); the (S.) *māsha* is a kidney-bean; the (P.) *tānk* is about 2 oz.; the (Ar.) *miṣṣāl* is equal to 40 *ratīs*; the (S.) *tūla* is about 145 oz.; the (S.) *ser* is of various values (Wilson's *Glossary* and Yule's H.J.).

This is everywhere fixed :—40 *ser* = 1 *mānbān* ; 12 *mānbān* = 1 *mānī* ; 100 *mānī* they call a *mīnāsa*.<sup>1</sup>

Pearls and jewels they weigh by the *tānk*.

(r. *Modes of reckoning.*)

The people of Hind have also an excellent mode of reckoning : 100,000 they call a *lak* ; 100 *laks*, a *krūr* ; 100 *krūrs*, an *arb* ; 100 *arbs*, 1 *karb* ; 100 *karbs*, 1 *nīl* ; 100 *nīls*, 1 *padam* ; 100 *padams*, 1 *sāng*. The fixing of such high reckonings as these is proof of the great amount of wealth in Hindūstān.

(s. *Hindū inhabitants of Hindūstān.*)

Most of the inhabitants of Hindūstān are pagans ; they call a pagan a Hindū. Most Hindūs believe in the transmigration of souls. All artisans, wage-earners, and officials are Hindūs. In our countries dwellers in the wilds (*i.e.* nomads) get tribal names ; here the settled people of the cultivated lands and villages get tribal names.<sup>2</sup> Again :—every artisan there is follows the trade that has come down to him from forefather to forefather.

Fol. 290b.

(t. *Defects of Hindūstān.*)

Hindūstān is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks ; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none ; of genius and capacity none ; of manners none ; in handicraft and work there is no form or symmetry, method or quality ; there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water, no good bread or cooked food in the *bāzārs*, no Hot-baths, no Colleges, no candles, torches or candlesticks.

In place of candle and torch they have a great dirty gang they call lamp-men (*dīwatī*), who in the left hand hold a smallish wooden tripod to one corner of which a thing like the top of

<sup>1</sup> There being 40 Bengāl *ser*s to the *man*, Bābur's word *mānbān* seems to be another name for the *man* or *maund*. I have not found *mānbān* or *mīnāsā*. At first sight *mānbān* might be taken, in the Hai. MS. for (T.) *bātmān*, a weight of 13 or 15 lbs., but this does not suit. Cf. f. 167 note to *bātmān* and f. 173<sup>b</sup> (where, however, in the note f. 157 requires correction to f. 167). For Bābur's table of measures the Pers. trs. has 40 *ser*s = 1 *man* ; 12 *mans* = 1 *mānī* ; 100 *mānī* they call *mīnāsa* (217, f. 201b, l. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably these are caste-names.

a candlestick is fixed, having a wick in it about as thick as the thumb. In the right hand they hold a gourd, through a narrow slit made in which, oil is let trickle in a thin thread when the wick needs it. Great people keep a hundred or two of these lamp-men. This is the Hindūstān substitute for lamps and candlesticks! If their rulers and begs have work at night needing candles, these dirty lamp-men bring these lamps, go close up and there stand. Fol. 291.

Except their large rivers and their standing-waters which flow in ravines or hollows (there are no waters). There are no running-waters in their gardens or residences (*'imāratlār*).<sup>1</sup> These residences have no charm, air (*hawā*), regularity or symmetry.

Peasants and people of low standing go about naked. They tie on a thing called *lungūtā*,<sup>2</sup> a decency-clout which hangs two spans below the navel. From the tie of this pendant decency-clout, another clout is passed between the thighs and made fast behind. Women also tie on a cloth (*lung*), one-half of which goes round the waist, the other is thrown over the head.

(*u. Advantages of Hindūstān.*)

Pleasant things of Hindūstān are that it is a large country and has masses of gold and silver. Its air in the Rains is very fine. Sometimes it rains 10, 15 or 20 times a day; torrents pour down all at once and rivers flow where no water had been. While it rains and through the Rains, the air is remarkably fine, not to be surpassed for healthiness and charm. The fault is that the air becomes very soft and damp. A bow of those (Transoxanian) countries after going through the Rains in Hindūstān, may not be drawn even; it is ruined; not only the bow, everything is affected, armour, book, cloth, and utensils all; a house even does Fol. 291b.

<sup>1</sup> The words in parenthesis appear to be omitted from the text; to add them brings Bābur's remark into agreement with others on what he several times makes note of, *viz.* the absence not only of irrigation-channels but of those which convey "running-waters" to houses and gardens. Such he writes of in Farghāna; such are a well-known charm *e.g.* in Madeira, where the swift current of clear water flowing through the streets, turns into private precincts by side-runlets.

<sup>2</sup> The Hai. MS. writes *lungūtā-dik*, like a *lungūtā*, which better agrees with Bābur's usual phrasing. *Lung* is Persian for a cloth passed between the loins, is an equivalent of S. *dhōti*. Bābur's use of it (*infra*) for the woman's (P.) *chaddar* or (S.) *sārī* does not suit the Dictionary definition of its meaning.



not last long. Not only in the Rains but also in the cold and the hot seasons, the airs are excellent ; at these times, however, the north-west wind constantly gets up laden with dust and earth. It gets up in great strength every year in the heats, under the Bull and Twins when the Rains are near ; so strong and carrying so much dust and earth that there is no seeing one another. People call this wind Darkener of the Sky (H. *āndhī*). The weather is hot under the Bull and Twins, but not intolerably so, not so hot as in Balkh and Qandahār and not for half so long.

Another good thing in Hindūstān is that it has unnumbered and endless workmen of every kind. There is a fixed caste (*jam'ī*) for every sort of work and for every thing, which has done that work or that thing from father to son till now. Mullā Sharaf, writing in the *Zafar-nāma* about the building of Timūr Beg's Stone Mosque, lays stress on the fact that on it 200 stone-cutters worked, from Āzarbāijān, Fars, Hindūstān and other countries. But 680 men worked daily on my buildings in Āgra and of Āgra stone-cutters only ; while 1491 stone-cutters worked daily on my buildings in Āgra, Sikrī, Bīāna, Dūlpūr, Gūālīār and Kūil. In the same way there are numberless artisans and workmen of every sort in Hindūstān.

Fol. 292.

(v. *Revenues of Hindūstān.*)

The revenue of the countries now held by me (935 AH.—1528 AD.) from Bhīra to Bihār is 52 *krūrs*,<sup>1</sup> as will be known in detail from the following summary.<sup>2</sup> Eight or nine *krūrs* of this

<sup>1</sup> When Erskine published the Memoirs in 1826 AD. he estimated this sum at 1½ millions Sterling, but when he published his *History of India* in 1854, he had made further research into the problem of Indian money values, and judged then that Bābur's revenue was £4,212,000.

<sup>2</sup> Erskine here notes that the promised details had not been preserved, but in 1854 AD. he had found them in a "paraphrase of part of Bābur", manifestly in Shaikh Zain's work. He entered and discussed them and some matters of money-values in Appendices D. and E. of his *History of India*, vol. I. Ilminsky found them in Kehr's Codex (C. ii, 230). The scribe of the Elph. MS. has entered the revenues of three *sarkārs* only, with his usual quotation marks indicating something extraneous or doubtful. The Hai. MS. has them in contents precisely as I have entered them above, but with a scattered mode of setting down. They are in Persian, presumably as they were rendered to Bābur by some Indian official. This official statement will have been with Bābur's own papers ; it will have been copied by Shaikh Zain into his own paraphrase. It differs slightly in Erskine's and again, in de Courteille's versions. I regret that I am incompetent to throw any light upon the

are from parganas of rāis and rājas who, as obedient from of old, receive allowance and maintenance.

REVENUES OF HINDŪSTĀN FROM WHAT HAS SO FAR COME UNDER THE  
VICTORIOUS STANDARDS

Sarkārs.	Krūrs.	Laks.	Tankas.
Trans-sutluj :—Bhīra, Lāhūr, Siālkūt, Dībālpūr, etc.	3	33	15,989
Sihriind . . . . .	1	29	31,985
Hiṣār-firūza . . . . .	1	30	75,174
The capital Dihlī and Miān-dū-āb . . . . .	3	69	50,254
Miwāt, not included in Sikandar's time . . . . .	1	69	81,000
Bīāna . . . . .	1	44	14,930
Āgra . . . . .		29	76,919
Miān-wilāyat (Midlands) . . . . .	2	91	19
Gūaliār . . . . .	2	23	57,450
Kālpī and Sehoṇḍa (Seondhā) . . . . .	4	28	55,950
Qanauj . . . . .	1	36	63,358
Śambhal . . . . .	1	38	44,000
Laknūr and Baksar . . . . .	1	39	82,433
Khairābād . . . . .		12	65,000
Aūd (Oude) and Bahraj (Baraich) . . . . .	1	17	1,369
Jūnpūr . . . . .	4	0	88,333
Karra and Mānikpūr . . . . .	1	63	27,282
Bihār . . . . .	4	5	60,000
Sarwār . . . . .	1	55	17,506½
Sāran . . . . .	1	10	18,373
Champāran . . . . .	1	90	86,060
Kandla . . . . .		43	30,300
Tirhut from Rāja Rup-narāin's tribute, silver black (i.e. copper)		27	55,000
Rantanbhūr from Būli, Chātsū, and Malarna . . . . .		20	00,000
Nagūr . . . . .	—	—	—
Rāja Bikrāmajit in Rantanbhūr . . . . .	—	—	—
Kalanjarī . . . . .	—	—	—
Rāja Bīr-sang-deo (or, Sang only) . . . . .	—	—	—
Rāja Bikam-deo . . . . .	—	—	—
Rāja Bikam-chand . . . . .	—	—	—

Fol. 292b.

Fol. 293.

<sup>1</sup> So far as particulars and details about the land and people of the country of Hindūstān have become definitely known, they have been narrated and described ; whatever matters worthy of record may come to view hereafter, I shall write down.

question of its values and that I must leave some uncertain names to those more expert than myself. Cf. Erskine's Appendices *l.c.* and Thomas' *Revenue resources of the Mughal Empire*. For a few comments see App. P.

<sup>2</sup> Here the Turki text resumes in the Hai. MS.

## HISTORICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED.

*(a. Distribution of treasure in Āgra.)*<sup>1</sup>

(*May 12th*) On Saturday the 29th<sup>2</sup> of Rajab the examination and distribution of the treasure were begun. To Humāyūn were given 70 laks from the Treasury, and, over and above this, a treasure house was bestowed on him just as it was, without ascertaining and writing down its contents. To some begs 10 laks were given, 8, 7, or 6 to others.<sup>3</sup> Suitable money-gifts were bestowed from the Treasury on the whole army, to every tribe there was, Afghān, Hazāra, 'Arab, Bīlūch *etc.* to each according to its position. Every trader and student, indeed every man who had come with the army, took ample portion and share of bounteous gift and largess. To those not with the army went a mass of treasure in gift and largess, as for instance, 17 laks to Kāmran, 15 laks to Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, while to 'Askarī, Hindāl and indeed to the whole various train of relations and younger children<sup>4</sup> went masses of red and white (gold and silver), of plenishing, jewels and slaves.<sup>5</sup> Many gifts went to the begs and soldiery on that side (Tramontana). Valuable gifts (*saughāt*) were sent for the various relations in Samarkand, Khurāsān, Kāshghar and 'Irāq. To holy men belonging to Samarkand and Khurāsān went offerings vowed to God (*nuzūr*); so too to

Fol. 294.

<sup>1</sup> Elph. MS. f. 243b; W. i. B. I. O. 215 has not the events of this year (as to which omission *vide* note at the beginning of 932 AH. f. 251b) and 217 f. 203; Mems. p. 334; Ilminsky's imprint p. 380; *Méms.* ii, 232.

<sup>2</sup> This should be 30th if Saturday was the day of the week (Gladwin, Cunningham and Bābur's narrative of f. 269). Saturday appears likely to be right; Bābur entered Āgra on Thursday 28th; Friday would be used for the Congregational Prayer and preliminaries inevitable before the distribution of the treasure. The last day of Bābur's narrative 932 AH. is Thursday Rajab 28th; he would not be likely to mistake between Friday, the day of his first Congregational prayer in Āgra, and Saturday. It must be kept in mind that the *Description of Hindūstān* is an interpolation here, and that it was written in 935 AH., three years later than the incidents here recorded. The date Rajab 29th may not be Bābur's own entry; or if it be, may have been made after the interpolation of the dividing mass of the *Description* and made wrongly.

<sup>3</sup> Erskine estimated these sums as "probably £56,700 to Humāyūn; and the smaller ones as £3,100, £6,480, £5,670 and £4,860 respectively; very large sums for the age" (*History of India*, i. 440 n. and App. E.)

<sup>4</sup> These will be his daughters. Gul-badan gives precise details of the gifts to the family circle (*Humāyūn-nāma* f. 10).

<sup>5</sup> Some of these slaves were Sl. Ibrāhīm's dancing-girls (Gul-badan, *ib.*).

Makka and Madīna. We gave one *shāhrukhi* for every soul in the country of Kābul and the valley-side <sup>1</sup> of Varsak, man and woman, bond and free, of age or non-age.<sup>2</sup>

(*b. Disaffection to Bābur.*)

On our first coming to Āgra, there was remarkable dislike and hostility between its people and mine, the peasantry and soldiers running away in fear of our men. Delhī and Āgra excepted, not a fortified town but strengthened its defences and neither was in obedience nor submitted. Qāsīm Saṃbhalī was in Saṃbhal; Niẓām Khān was in Bīāna; in Mīwāt was Ḥasan Khān Mīwātī himself, impious mannikin! who was the sole leader of the trouble and mischief.<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad *Zaitun* was in Dūlpūr; Tātār Khān *Sārang-khānī*<sup>4</sup> was in Gūālīār; Ḥusain Khān *Nuḥānī* was in Rāprī; Quṭb Khān was in Itāwa (Etāwa); ‘Ālam Khān (*Kālpī*) was in Kālpī. Qanauj and the other side of Gang (Ganges) was all held by Afghāns in independent hostility,<sup>5</sup> such as Naṣīr Khān *Nuḥānī*, Ma’rūf *Farmūlī* and a crowd of other amīrs. These had been in rebellion for three or four years before Ibrāhīm’s death and when I defeated him, were holding Qanauj and the whole country beyond it. At the present time they were lying two or three marches on our side of Qanauj and had made Bihār Khān the son of Daryā Khān *Nuḥānī* their *pādshāh*, under the style Sulṭān Muḥammad. Marghūb the slave was in Mahāwīn (*Muttra* ?); he remained there, thus close, for some time but came no nearer.

Fol. 294b.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *ṣada*. Perhaps it was a station of a hundred men. Varsak is in Badakhshān, on the water flowing to Ṭālīqān from the Khwāja Muḥammad range. Erskine read (p. 335) *ṣada Varsak* as *ṣadūr rashk*, incentive to emulation; de C. (ii, 233) translates *ṣada* conjecturally by *circumscription*. Shaikh Zain has Varsak and to the recipients of the gifts adds the “Khwāstīs, people noted for their piety” (A.N. trs. H.B. i, 248 n.). The gift to Varsak may well have been made in gratitude for hospitality received by Bābur in the time of adversity after his loss of Samarkand and before his return to Kābul in 920 AH.

<sup>2</sup> *circa* 10d. or 11d. Bābur left himself stripped so bare by his far-flung largess that he was nick-named Qalandar (Firishta).

<sup>3</sup> Badāyūnī says of him (Bib. Ind. ed. i, 340) that he was *kāfir kalīma-gū*, a pagan making the Muḥammadan Confession of Faith, and that he had heard of him, in Akbar’s time from Bairām Khān-i-khānan, as kingly in appearance and poetic in temperament. He was killed fighting for Rānā Sangā at Kānwaha.

<sup>4</sup> This is his family name.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* not acting with Ḥasan Mīwātī.

(c. *Discontent in Bābur's army.*)

It was the hot-season when we came to Āgra. All the inhabitants (*khalāiq*) had run away in terror. Neither grain for ourselves nor corn for our horses was to be had. The villages, out of hostility and hatred to us had taken to thieving and highway-robbery; there was no moving on the roads. There had been no chance since the treasure was distributed to send men in strength into the parganas and elsewhere. Moreover the year was a very hot one; violent pestilential winds struck people down in heaps together; masses began to die off.

On these accounts the greater part of the begs and best braves became unwilling to stay in Hindūstān, indeed set their faces for leaving it. It is no reproach to old and experienced begs if they speak of such matters; even if they do so, this man (Bābur) has enough sense and reason to get at what is honest or what is mutinous in their representations, to distinguish between loss and gain. But as this man had seen his task whole, for himself, when he resolved on it, what taste was there in their reiterating that things should be done differently? What recommends the expression of distasteful opinions by men of little standing (*kīchīk karīm*)? Here is a curious thing:—This last time of our riding out from Kābul, a few men of little standing had just been made begs; what I looked for from them was that if I went through fire and water and came out again, they would have gone in with me unhesitatingly, and with me have come out, that wherever I went, there at my side would they be,—not that they would speak against my fixed purpose, not that they would turn back from any task or great affair on which, all counselling, all consenting, we had resolved, so long as that counsel was not abandoned. Badly as these new begs behaved, Secretary Aḥmadī and Treasurer Walī behaved still worse. Khwāja Kalān had done well in the march out from Kābul, in Ibrāhīm's defeat and until Āgra was occupied; he had spoken bold words and shewn ambitious views. But a few days after the capture of Āgra, all his views changed,—the one zealous for departure at any price was Khwāja Kalān.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gul-badan says that the Khwāja several times asked leave on the ground that his constitution was not fitted for the climate of Hindūstān; that His Majesty was not at all, at all, willing for him to go, but gave way at length to his importunity.

(d. *Bābur calls a council.*)

When I knew of this unsteadiness amongst (my) people, I summoned all the begs and took counsel. Said I, "There is no supremacy and grip on the world without means and resources; without lands and retainers sovereignty and command (*pādshāhlīq u amīrlīq*) are impossible. By the labours of several years, by encountering hardship, by long travel, by flinging myself and the army into battle, and by deadly slaughter, we, through God's grace, beat these masses of enemies in order that we might take their broad lands. And now what force compels us, what necessity has arisen that we should, without cause, abandon countries taken at such risk of life? Was it for us to remain in Kābul, the sport of harsh poverty? Henceforth, let no well-wisher of mine speak of such things! But let not those turn back from going who, weak in strong persistence, have set their faces to depart!" By these words, which recalled just and reasonable views to their minds, I made them, willy-nilly, quit their fears. Fol. 295b.

(e. *Khwāja Kalān decides to leave Hindūstān.*)

As Khwāja Kalān had no heart to stay in Hindūstān, matters were settled in this way :—As he had many retainers, he was to convoy the gifts, and, as there were few men in Kābul and Ghaznī, was to keep these places guarded and victualled. I bestowed on him Ghaznī, Girdiz and the Sultān Mas'ūdī Hazāra, gave also the Hindūstān *pargana* of G'hūram,<sup>1</sup> worth 3 or 4 *laks*. It was settled for Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān also to go to Kābul; the gifts were put into his immediate charge, under the custody of Mullā Ḥasan the banker (*ṣarrāf*) and Tūka<sup>2</sup> Hindū.

Loathing Hindūstān, Khwāja Kalān, when on his way, had the following couplet inscribed on the wall of his residence (*'imārātī*) in Dihlī :— Fol. 296.

If safe and sound I cross the Sind,  
Blacken my face ere I wish for Hind!

It was ill-mannered in him to compose and write up this partly-jesting verse while I still stayed in Hind. If his departure

<sup>1</sup> in Patāla, about 25 miles s.w. of Ambāla.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Zain, Gul-badan and Erskine write Nau-kār. It was now that Khwāja Kalān conveyed money for the repair of the great dam at Ghaznī (f. 139).

caused me one vexation, such a jest doubled it.<sup>1</sup> I composed the following off-hand verse, wrote it down and sent it to him :—

Give a hundred thanks, Bābur, that the generous Pardoner  
Has given thee Sind and Hind and many a kingdom.  
If thou (*i. e.* the Khwāja) have not the strength for their heats,  
If thou say, "Let me see the cold side (*yūz*)," Ghazni is there."<sup>2</sup>

(*f. Accretions to Bābur's force.*)

At this juncture, Mullā Apāq was sent into Kūl with royal letters of favour for the soldiers and quiver-wearers (*tarkash-band*) of that neighbourhood. Shaikh Gūran (G'hūran)<sup>3</sup> came

(*Author's note on Mullā Apāq.*) Formerly he had been in a very low position indeed, but two or three years before this time, had gathered his elder and younger brethren into a compact body and had brought them in (to me), together with the Aūrūq-zāi and other Afghāns of the banks of the Sind.

trustfully and loyally to do obeisance, bringing with him from 2 to 3,000 soldiers and quiver-wearers from Between-two-waters (*Mīān-dū-āb*).

Yūnas-i-'alī when on his way from Dihlī to Āgra<sup>4</sup> had lost his way a little and got separated from Humāyūn; he then met in with 'Alī Khān *Farmūlī's* sons and train,<sup>5</sup> had a small affair with them, took them prisoners and brought them in. Taking advantage of this, one of the sons thus captured was sent to his father in company with Daulat-qadam *Turk's* son Mirzā *Mughūl* who conveyed royal letters of favour to 'Alī Khān. At this time of break-up, 'Alī Khān had gone to Mīwāt; he came to

Fol. 296b.

<sup>1</sup> The friends did not meet again; that their friendship weathered this storm is shewn by Bābur's letter of f. 359. The *Abūshqa* says the couplet was inscribed on a marble tablet near the *Hauz-i-khāṣ* at the time the Khwāja was in Dihlī after bidding Bābur farewell in Āgra.

<sup>2</sup> This quatrain is in the Rāmpūr *Dīwān* (*g. v.* index). The *Abūshqa* quotes the following as Khwāja Kalān's reply, but without mentioning where the original was found. Cf. de Courteille, Dict. *s. n.* *tashkari*. An English version is given in my husband's article *Some verses by the Emperor Bābur* (A. Q. R. January, 1911).

You shew your gaiety and your wit,  
In each word there lie acres of charm.  
Were not all things of Hind upside-down,  
How could you in the heat be so pleasant on cold?

It is an old remark of travellers that everything in India is the opposite of what one sees elsewhere. Timūr is said to have remarked it and to have told his soldiers not to be afraid of the elephants of India, "For," said he, "their trunks are empty sleeves, and they carry their tails in front; in Hindustan everything is reversed" (H. Beveridge *ibid.*). Cf. App. Q.

<sup>3</sup> Badāyūnī i, 337 speaks of him as unrivalled in music.

<sup>4</sup> *f.* 267b.

<sup>5</sup> *aūrūq*, which here no doubt represents the women of the family.

me when Mirzā *Mughūl* returned, was promoted, and given valid (?) *parganas*<sup>1</sup> worth 25 laks.

(*g. Action against the rebels of the East.*)

Sl. Ibrāhīm had appointed several amīrs under Muṣṭafa *Farmūlī* and Fīrūz Khān *Sārang-khānī*, to act against the rebel amīrs of the East (*Pūrab*). Muṣṭafa had fought them and thoroughly drubbed them, giving them more than one good beating. He dying before Ibrāhīm's defeat, his younger brother Shaikh Bāyazīd—Ibrāhīm being occupied with a momentous matter<sup>2</sup>—had led and watched over his elder brother's men. He now came to serve me, together with Fīrūz Khān, Maḥmūd Khān *Nuhānī* and Qāzī Jīā. I shewed them greater kindness and favour than was their claim; giving to Fīrūz Khān 1 *krūr*, 46 *laks* and 5000 *tankas* from Jūnpūr, to Shaikh Bāyazīd 1 *krūr*, 48 *laks* and 50,000 *tankas* from Aūd (Oude), to Maḥmūd Khān 90 *laks* and 35,000 *tankas* from Ghāzīpūr, and to Qāzī Jīā 20 *laks*.<sup>3</sup>

(*h. Gifts made to various officers.*)

It was a few days after the 'Īd of Shawwāl<sup>4</sup> that a large party was held in the pillared-porch of the domed building standing in the middle of Sl. Ibrāhīm's private apartments. At this party there were bestowed on Humāyūn a *chār-qab*,<sup>5</sup> a sword-belt,<sup>6</sup> a *tīpūchāq* horse with saddle mounted in gold; on Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān, Maḥdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā *chār-qabs*, sword-belts and dagger-belts; and to the begs and Fol. 297. braves, to each according to his rank, were given sword-belts, dagger-belts, and dresses of honour, in all to the number specified below :—

<sup>1</sup> *aiy parganalār.*

<sup>2</sup> Bābur's advance, presumably.

<sup>3</sup> The full amounts here given are not in all MSS., some scribes contenting themselves with the largest item of each gift (*Memoirs* p. 337).

<sup>4</sup> The 'Īd of Shawwāl, it will be remembered, is celebrated at the conclusion of the Ramzān fast, on seeing the first new moon of Shawwāl. In A.H. 932 it must have fallen about July 11th 1526 (Erskine).

<sup>5</sup> A square shawl, or napkin, of cloth of gold, bestowed as a mark of rank and distinction (*Memoirs* p. 338 n.); *une tunique enrichie de broderies* (*Mémoires*, ii, 240 n.).

<sup>6</sup> *kamar-shamsīr*. This Steingass explains as sword-belt, Erskine by "sword with a belt". The summary following shews that many weapons were given and not belts alone. There is a good deal of variation in the MSS. The Hai. MS. has not a complete list. The most all the lists show is that gifts were many.



- 2 items (*rā's*) of *tīpūchāq* horses with saddles.
- 16 items (*qabza*) of poinards, set with jewels, etc.
- 8 items (*qabza*) of purpet over-garments.
- 2 items (*toḥ*) of jewelled sword-belts.
- items (*qabza*) of broad daggers (*jama' har*) set with jewels.
- 25 items of jewelled hangers (*khanjar*).
- items of gold-hilted Hindī knives (*kārd*).
- 51 pieces of purpet.

On the day of this party it rained amazingly, rain falling thirteen times. As outside places had been assigned to a good many people, they were drowned out (*gharaq*).

(i. *Of various forts and postings.*)

Samāna (in Patīāla) had been given to Muḥammadī Kūkūl-dāsh and it had been arranged for him to make swift descent on Saṃbal (Saṃbhal), but Saṃbal was now bestowed on Humāyūn, in addition to his guerdon of Ḥiṣār-fīrūza, and in his service was Hindū Beg. To suit this, therefore, Hindū Beg was sent to make the incursion in Muḥammadī's place, and with him Kitta Beg, Bābā *Qashqa's* (brother) Malik Qāsim and his elder and younger brethren, Mullā Apāq and Shaikh Gūran (G'hūran) with the quiver-wearers from Between-two-waters (*Mīān-dū-āb*). Three or four times a person had come from Qāsim *Saṃbalī*, saying, "The renegade Bīban is besieging Saṃbal and has brought it to extremity; come quickly." Bīban, with the array and the preparation (*hayāt*) with which he had deserted us,<sup>1</sup> had gone skirting the hills and gathering up Afghān and Hindūstānī deserters, until, finding Saṃbal at this juncture ill-garrisoned, he laid siege to it. Hindū Beg and Kitta Beg and the rest of those appointed to make the incursion, got to the Ahār-passage<sup>2</sup> and from there sent ahead Bābā *Qashqa's* Malik Qāsim with his elder and younger brethren, while they themselves were getting over the water. Malik Qāsim crossed, advanced swiftly with from 100 to 150 men—his own and his brethren's—and reached Saṃbal by the Mid-day Prayer. Bīban for his part came out of his camp in array. Malik Qāsim and his troop moved rapidly forward, got the fort in their rear, and came to grips. Bīban could make no stand; he fled. Malik Qāsim cut off the heads of part of his force, took many horses,

<sup>1</sup> f. 263b.

<sup>2</sup> over the Ganges, a little above Anūp-shahr in the Buland-shahr district.

a few elephants and a mass of booty. Next day when the other begs arrived, Qāsīm *Sambalī* came out and saw them, but not liking to surrender the fort, made them false pretences. One day Shaikh Gūran (G'hūran) and Hindū Beg having talked the matter over with them, got Qāsīm *Sambalī* out to the presence of the begs, and took men of ours into the fort. They brought Qāsīm's wife and dependents safely out, and sent Qāsīm (to Court).<sup>1</sup>

Qalandar the foot-man was sent to Niẓām Khān in Bīāna with royal letters of promise and threat; with these was sent also the following little off-hand (Persian) verse :—<sup>2</sup> Fol. 298.

Strive not with the Turk, o Mīr of Bīāna !  
His skill and his courage are obvious.  
If thou come not soon, nor give ear to counsel,—  
What need to detail (*bayān*) what is obvious ?

Bīāna being one of the famous forts of Hindūstān, the senseless mannikin, relying on its strength, demanded what not even its strength could enforce. Not giving him a good answer, we ordered siege apparatus to be looked to.

Bābā Qulī Beg was sent with royal letters of promise and threat to Muḥammad *Zaitūn* (in Dūlpūr); Muḥammad *Zaitūn* also made false excuses.

While we were still in Kābul, Rānā Sangā had sent an envoy to testify to his good wishes and to propose this plan : “If the honoured Pādshāh will come to near Dihlī from that side, I from this will move on Āgra.” But I beat Ibrāhīm, I took Dihlī and Āgra, and up to now that Pagan has given no sign soever of moving. After a while he went and laid siege to Kandār<sup>3</sup> a fort in which was Makan's son, Ḥasan by name. This Ḥasan-of-Makan had sent a person to me several times, but had not shewn himself. We had not been able to detach reinforcement for him because, as the forts round-about—Atāwa (Etāwa), Dūlpūr, and Bīāna—had not yet surrendered, and the Eastern Afghāns were seated with their army in obstinate rebellion two or three marches on the Āgra side of Qanūj, my mind was not quite free from the whirl and strain of things Fol. 298b.

<sup>1</sup> A seeming omission in the text is made good in my translation by Shaikh Zain's help, who says Qāsīm was sent to Court.

<sup>2</sup> This quatrain is in the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*. It appears to pun on Bīāna and *bī(y)ān*.

<sup>3</sup> Kandār is in Rājputāna; Abū'l-faẓl writes Kuhan-dār, old habitation.

close at hand. Makan's Ḥasan therefore, becoming helpless, had surrendered Kandār two or three months ago.

Ḥusain Khān (*Nuḥānī*) became afraid in Rāpri, and he abandoning it, it was given to Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*.

To Quṭb Khān in Etāwa royal letters of promise and threat had been sent several times, but as he neither came and saw me, nor abandoned Etāwa and got away, it was given to Mahdī Khwāja and he was sent against it with a strong reinforcement of begs and household troops under the command of Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi*, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and 'Abdu'l-'azīz the Master of the Horse. Qanūj was given to Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi*; he was also (as mentioned) appointed against Etāwa; so too were Firūz Khān, Maḥmūd Khān, Shaikh Bāyazīd and Qāzī Jīā, highly favoured commanders to whom Eastern *parganas* had been given.

Fol. 299.

Muḥammad *Zaitūn*, who was seated in Dūlpūr, deceived us and did not come. We gave Dūlpūr to Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and reinforced him by appointing 'Adil Sulṭān, Muḥammadi Kūkūldāsh, Shāh Maṣṣūr *Barlās*, Qūtlūq-qadam, Treasurer Walī, Jān Beg, 'Abdu'l-lāh, Pīr-qulī, and Shāh Ḥasan *Yāragī* (or *Bāragī*), who were to attack Dūlpūr, take it, make it over to Sl. Junaid *Barlās* and advance on Biāna.

(j. *Plan of operations adopted.*)

These armies appointed, we summoned the Turk amīrs<sup>1</sup> and the Hindūstān amīrs, and tossed the following matters in amongst them:—The various rebel amīrs of the East, that is to say, those under Nāṣir Khān *Nuḥānī* and Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, have crossed Gang (Ganges) with 40 to 50,000 men, taken Qanūj, and now lie some three miles on our side of the river. The Pagan Rānā Sangā has captured Kandār and is in a hostile and mischievous attitude. The end of the Rains is near. It seems expedient to move either against the rebels or the Pagan, since the task of the forts near-by is easy; when the great foes are got rid of, what road will remain open for the rest? Rānā Sangā is thought not to be the equal of the rebels.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first time Bābur's begs are called amīrs in his book; it may be by a scribe's slip.

To this all replied unanimously, "Rānā Sangā is the most distant, and it is not known that he will come nearer; the enemy who is closest at hand must first be got rid of. We are for riding against the rebels." Humāyūn then represented, Fol. 299b.  
 "What need is there for the Pādshāh to ride out? This service I will do." This came as a pleasure to every-one; the Turk and Hind amīrs gladly accepted his views; he was appointed for the East. A Kābulī of Aḥmad-i-qāsim's was sent galloping off to tell the armies that had been despatched against Dūlpūr to join Humāyūn at Chandwār;<sup>1</sup> also those sent against Etāwa under Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sī. M. were ordered to join him.

(August 21st) Humāyūn set out on Thursday the 13th of Zū'l-qa'da, dismounted at a little village called Jilisīr (Jalesar) some 3 *kurohs* from Āgra, there stayed one night, then moved forward march by march.

(k. *Khwāja Kalān's departure.*)

(August 28th) On Thursday the 20th of this same month, Khwāja Kalān started for Kābul.

(l. *Of gardens and pleasaunces.*)

One of the great defects of Hindūstān being its lack of running-waters,<sup>2</sup> it kept coming to my mind that waters should be made to flow by means of wheels erected wherever I might settle down, also that grounds should be laid out in an orderly and symmetrical way. With this object in view, we crossed the Jūn-water to look at garden-grounds a few days after entering Āgra. Those grounds were so bad and unattractive that we traversed them with a hundred disgusts and repulsions. So ugly and displeasing were they, that the idea of making a Chār-bāgh in them passed from my mind, but needs must! as there was no other land near Āgra, that same ground was taken in hand a few days later. Fol. 300.

The beginning was made with the large well from which water comes for the Hot-bath, and also with the piece of ground where

<sup>1</sup> Chandwār is on the Jumna, between Āgra and Etāwah.

<sup>2</sup> Here *āqār-sūlār* will stand for the waters which flow—sometimes in marble channels—to nourish plants and charm the eye, such for example as beautify the Tāj-maḥal pleasaunce.

the tamarind-trees and the octagonal tank now are. After that came the large tank with its enclosure ; after that the tank and *tālār*<sup>1</sup> in front of the outer (?) residence<sup>2</sup> ; after that the private-house (*khilwat-khāna*) with its garden and various dwellings ; after that the Hot-bath. Then in that charmless and disorderly Hind, plots of garden<sup>3</sup> were seen laid out with order and symmetry, with suitable borders and parterres in every corner, and in every border rose and narcissus in perfect arrangement.

(*m. Construction of a chambered-well.*)

Three things oppressed us in Hindūstān, its heat, its violent winds, its dust. Against all three the Bath is a protection, for in it, what is known of dust and wind ? and in the heats it is so chilly that one is almost cold. The bath-room in which the heated tank is, is altogether of stone, the whole, except for the *izāra* (dado?) of white stone, being, pavement and roofing, of red Biāna stone.

Fol. 300b. Khalifa also and Shaikh Zain, Yūnas-i-'alī and whoever got land on that other bank of the river laid out regular and orderly gardens with tanks, made running-waters also by setting up wheels like those in Dīpālpūr and Lāhor. The people of Hind who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically and thus laid out, called the side of the Jūn where (our) residences were, Kābul.

In an empty space inside the fort, which was between Ibrāhīm's residence and the ramparts, I ordered a large chambered-well (*wāẓn*) to be made, measuring 10 by 10,<sup>4</sup> a large

<sup>1</sup> Index *s.n.* The *iālār* is raised on pillars and open in front ; it serves often for an Audience-hall (Erskine).

<sup>2</sup> *tāsh* 'imārat, which may refer to the extra-mural location of the house, or contrast it with the inner *khilwat-khāna*, the women's quarters, of the next sentence. The point is noted as one concerning the use of the word *tāsh* (Index *s.n.*). I have found no instance in which it is certain that Bābur uses *tāsh*, a stone or rock, as an adjective. On f. 301 he writes *tāshdān* 'imārat, house-of-stone, which the Persian text renders by 'imārat-i-sangīn. Wherever *tāsh* can be translated as meaning outer, this accords with Bābur's usual diction.

<sup>3</sup> *dāghcha* (Index *s.n.*). That Bābur was the admitted pioneer of orderly gardens in India is shewn by the 30th *Āyīn*, On Perfumes :—"After the foot-prints of Firdaus-makāni (Bābur) had added to the glory of Hindūstān, embellishment by avenues and landscape-gardening was seen, while heart-expanding buildings and the sound of falling-waters widened the eyes of beholders."

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *gaz*, each somewhat less than 36 inches.

well with a flight of steps, which in Hindūstān is called a *wāīn*.<sup>1</sup> This well was begun before the Chār-bāgh<sup>2</sup>; they were busy digging it in the true Rains ('*aīn bīshkāl*, Sāwan and Bhadon); it fell in several times and buried the hired workmen; it was finished after the Holy Battle with Rānā Sangā, as is stated in the inscription on the stone that bears the chronogram of its completion. It is a complete *wāīn*, having a three-storeyed house in it. The lowest storey consists of three rooms, each of which opens on the descending steps, at intervals of three steps from one another. When the water is at its lowest, it is one step below the bottom chamber; when it rises in the Rains, it sometimes goes into the top storey. In the middle storey an inner chamber has been excavated which connects with the domed building in which the bullock turns the well-wheel. The top storey is a single room, reached from two sides by 5 or 6 steps which lead down to it from the enclosure overlooked from the well-head. Facing the right-hand way down, is the stone inscribed with the date of completion. At the side of this well is another the bottom of which may be at half the depth of the first, and into which water comes from that first one when the bullock turns the wheel in the domed building afore-mentioned. This second well also is fitted with a wheel, by means of which water is carried along the ramparts to the high-garden. A stone building (*tāshdīn 'imārat*) stands at the mouth of the well and there is an outer (?) mosque<sup>3</sup> outside (*tāshqārī*) the enclosure in which the well is. The mosque is not well done; it is in the Hindūstānī fashion.

Fol. 301.

(n. *Humāyūn's campaign*.)

At the time Humāyūn got to horse, the rebel amīrs under Naṣīr Khān *Nuḥānī* and Ma'rūf *Farmūlī* were assembled at Jājmaū.<sup>4</sup> Arrived within 20 to 30 miles of them, he sent out

<sup>1</sup> The more familiar Indian name is *baoli*. Such wells attracted Peter Mundy's attention; Yule gives an account of their names and plan (Mundy's *Travels in Asia*, Hakluyt Society, ed. R. C. Temple, and Yule's *Hobson Jobson s. n.* Bowly). Bābur's account of his great *wāīn* is not easy to translate; his interpreters vary from one another; probably no one of them has felt assured of translating correctly.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* the one across the river.

<sup>3</sup> *tāsh masjid*; this, unless some adjectival affix (*e. g.* *dīn*) has been omitted by the scribe, I incline to read as meaning extra, supplementary, or outer, not as "mosque-of-stone".

<sup>4</sup> or Jājmaū, the old name for the sub-district of Kānhpūr (Cawnpur).

Mūmin Ātāka for news; it became a raid for loot; Mūmin Ātāka was not able to bring even the least useful information. The rebels heard about him however, made no stay but fled and got away. After Mūmin Ātāka, Qusm-nāī (?) was sent for news, with Bābā Chuhra<sup>1</sup> and Būjka; they brought it of the breaking-up and flight of the rebels. Humāyūn advancing, took Jājmāū and passed on. Near Dilmāū<sup>2</sup> Faṭḥ Khān *Sarwānī* came and saw him, and was sent to me with Mahdī Khwāja and Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā.

Fol. 301b.

(o. *News of the Aūzbegs.*)

This year 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Khān (*Aūzbeḡ*) led an army out of Bukhārā against Marv. In the citadel of Marv were perhaps 10 to 15 peasants whom he overcame and killed; then having taken the revenues of Marv in 40 or 50 days,<sup>3</sup> he went on to Sarakhs. In Sarakhs were some 30 to 40 Red-heads (*Qīzīl-bāsh*) who did not surrender, but shut the Gate; the peasantry however scattered them and opened the Gate to the Aūzbeḡ who entering, killed the Red-heads. Sarakhs taken, he went against Ṭūs and Mashhad. The inhabitants of Mashhad being helpless, let him in. Ṭūs he besieged for 8 months, took possession of on terms, did not keep those terms, but killed every man of name and made their women captive.

(p. *Affairs of Gujrat.*)

In this year Bahādur Khān,—he who now rules in Gujrat in the place of his father Sl. Muẓaffar *Gujratī*—having gone to Sl. Ibrāhīm after quarrel with his father, had been received without honour. He had sent dutiful letters to me while I was near Pānī-pat; I had replied by royal letters of favour and kindness summoning him to me. He had thought of coming, but changing his mind, drew off from Ibrāhīm's army towards Gujrat. Meantime his father Sl. Muẓaffar had died (Friday Jumāda II. 2nd AH.—March 16th 1526 AD.); his elder brother Sikandar Shāh who was Sl. Muẓaffar's eldest son, had become

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* of the Corps of Braves.

<sup>2</sup> Dilmāū is on the left bank of the Ganges, s.e. from Bareilly (Erskine).

<sup>3</sup> *Marv-nīng bunāt-nī bāghlāb*, which Erskine renders by "Having settled the revenue of Merv", and de Courteille by, "Après avoir occupé Merv." Were the year's revenues compressed into a 40 to 50 days collection?

ruler in their father's place and, owing to his evil disposition, had been strangled by his slave 'Imādu'l-mulk, acting with others (Sha'ban 14th—May 25th). Bahādur Khān, while he was on his road for Gujrāt, was invited and escorted to sit in his father's place under the style Bahādur Shāh (Ramzān 26th—July 6th). He for his part did well; he retaliated by death on 'Imādu'l-mulk for his treachery to his salt, and killed some others of his father's begs.<sup>†</sup> People point at him as a dread-naught (*bī bāk*) youth and a shedder of much blood. Fol. 302.

<sup>†</sup> *i.e.* those who had part in his brother's murder. Cf. Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and the *Mīrat-i-sikandarī* (trs. *History of Gujrat* E. C. Bayley).



933 A.H.—OCT. 8TH 1526 TO SEP. 27TH 1527 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

(a. *Announcement of the birth of a son.*)

In Muḥarram Beg Wais brought the news of Fārūq's birth; though a foot-man had brought it already, he came this month for the gift to the messenger of good tidings.<sup>2</sup> The birth must have been on Friday eve, Shawwāl 23rd (932 A.H.—August 2nd 1526 A.D.); the name given was Fārūq.

(b. *Casting of a mortar.*)

(*October 22nd—Muḥarram 15th*) Ustād 'Alī-qulī had been ordered to cast a large mortar for use against Bīāna and other forts which had not yet submitted. When all the furnaces and materials were ready, he sent a person to me and, on Monday the 15th of the month, we went to see the mortar cast. Round the mortar-mould he had had eight furnaces made in which were the molten materials. From below each furnace a channel went direct to the mould. When he opened the furnace-holes on our arrival, the molten metal poured like water through all these channels into the mould. After awhile and before the mould was full, the flow stopped from one furnace after another. Ustād 'Alī-qulī must have made some miscalculation either as to the furnaces or the materials. In his great distress, he was for throwing himself into the mould of molten metal, but we comforted him, put a robe of honour on him, and so brought him out of his shame. The mould was left a day or two to cool; when it was opened, Ustād 'Alī-qulī with great delight sent to say, "The stone-chamber (*tāsh-awī*) is without defect; to cast the powder-compartment (*dārū-khāna*) is easy." He got

Fol. 302b.

<sup>1</sup> Elph. MS. f. 252; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 199b and 217 f. 208b; Mem. p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> *siūnchī* (Zenker). Fārūq was Māhim's son; he died in 934 A.H. before his father had seen him.

the stone-chamber out and told off a body of men to accoutre<sup>1</sup> it, while he busied himself with casting the powder-compartment.

(c. *Varia.*)

Mahdī Khwāja arrived bringing Faṭḥ Khān *Sarwānī* from Humāyūn's presence, they having parted from him in Dilmāū. I looked with favour on Faṭḥ Khān, gave him the *parganas* that had been his father 'Azam-humāyūn's, and other lands also, one *pargana* given being worth a *krūr* and 60 *laks*.<sup>2</sup>

In Hindūstān they give permanent titles [*muqarrarī khitāblār*] to highly-favoured amīrs, one such being 'Azam-humāyūn (August Might), one Khān-i-jahān (Khan-of-the-world), another Khān-i-khānān (Khān-of-khāns). Faṭḥ Khān's father's title was 'Azam-humāyūn but I set this aside because on account of Humāyūn it was not seemly for any person to bear it, and I gave Faṭḥ Khān *Sarwānī* the title of Khān-i-jahān. Fol. 303.

(*November 14th*) On Wednesday the 8th of Ṣafar<sup>3</sup> awnings were set up (in the Chār-bāgh) at the edge of the large tank beyond the tamarind-trees, and an entertainment was prepared there. We invited Faṭḥ Khān *Sarwānī* to a wine-party, gave him wine, bestowed on him a turban and head-to-foot of my own wearing, uplifted his head with kindness and favour<sup>4</sup> and allowed him to go to his own districts. It was arranged for his son Maḥmūd to remain always in waiting.

(d. *Various military matters.*)

(*November 30th*) On Wednesday the 24th of Muḥarram<sup>5</sup> Muḥammad 'Alī (son of Mihtar) Ḥaidar the stirrup-holder was

<sup>1</sup> *ṣalaḥ*. It is clear from the "tāsh-awī" (Pers. trs. *khāna-i-sang*) of this mortar (*gāzān*) that stones were its missiles. Erskine notes that from Bābur's account cannon would seem sometimes to have been made in parts and clamped together, and that they were frequently formed of iron bars strongly compacted into a circular shape. The accoutrement (*ṣalaḥ*) presumably was the addition of fittings.

<sup>2</sup> About £40,000 sterling (Erskine).

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. write Ṣafar but it seems probable that Muḥarram should be substituted for this; one ground for not accepting Ṣafar being that it breaks the consecutive order of dates, another that Ṣafar allows what seems a long time for the journey from near Dilmāū to Āgra. All MSS. I have seen give the 8th as the day of the month but Erskine has 20th. In this part of Bābur's writings dates are sparse; it is a narrative and not a diary.

<sup>4</sup> This phrase, foreign to Bābur's diction, smacks of a Court-Persian milieu.

<sup>5</sup> Here the Elph. MS. has Ṣafar Muḥarram (f. 253), as has also I.O. 215 f. 200b, but it seems unsafe to take this as an *al Ṣafarānī* extension of Muḥarram because Muḥ.-Ṣafar 24th was not a Wednesday. As in the passage noted just above, it seems likely that Muḥarram is right.

sent (to Humāyūn) with this injunction, "As—thanks be to God!—the rebels have fled, do you, as soon as this messenger arrives, appoint a few suitable begs to Jūnpūr, and come quickly to us yourself, for Rānā Sangā the Pagan is conveniently close; let us think first of him!"

After (Humāyūn's) army had gone to the East, we appointed, to make a plundering excursion into the Bīāna neighbourhood, Tardī Beg (brother) of Qūj Beg with his elder brother Sher-afgan, Muḥammad Khalīl the master-gelder (*akhta-begī*) with his brethren and the gelders (*akhtachīlār*),<sup>1</sup> Rustam *Turkmān* with his brethren, and also, of the Hindūstānī people, Daud *Sarwānī*.  
Fol. 303b. If they, by promise and persuasion, could make the Bīāna garrison look towards us, they were to do so; if not, they were to weaken the enemy by raid and plunder.

In the fort of Tahangar<sup>2</sup> was 'Ālam Khān the elder brother of that same Nizām Khān of Bīāna. People of his had come again and again to set forth his obedience and well-wishing; he now took it on himself to say, "If the Pādshāh appoint an army, it will be my part by promise and persuasion to bring in the quiver-weavers of Bīāna and to effect the capture of that fort." This being so, the following orders were given to the braves of Tardī Beg's expedition, "As 'Ālam Khān, a local man, has taken it on himself to serve and submit in this manner, act you with him and in the way he approves in this matter of Bīāna." Swordsmen though some Hindūstānīs may be, most of them are ignorant and unskilled in military move and stand (*yūrūsh u tūrūsh*), in soldierly counsel and procedure. When our expedition joined 'Ālam Khān, he paid no attention to what any-one else said, did not consider whether his action was good or bad, but went close up to Bīāna, taking our men with him. Our expedition numbered from 250 to 300 Turks with somewhat over 2000 Hindūstānīs and local people, while Nizām Khān of Bīāna's Afghāns and *sipāhīs*<sup>3</sup> were an army of over 4000 horse and of  
Fol. 304. foot-men themselves again, more than 10,000. Nizām Khān

<sup>1</sup> Cf. f. 156 note to Qambar-i-'alī. The title *akhta-begī* is to be found translated by "Master of the Horse", but this would not suit both uses of *akhta* in the above sentence. Cf. Shaw's Vocabulary.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* Tahangarh in Karaulī, Rājputāna.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *sipāhī* represents Hindūstānī foot-soldiers.

looked his opponents over, sallied suddenly out and, his massed horse charging down, put our expeditionary force to flight. His men unhorsed his elder brother 'Ālam Khān, took 5 or 6 others prisoner and contrived to capture part of the baggage. As we had already made encouraging promises to Nizām Khān, we now, spite of this last impropriety, pardoned all earlier and this later fault, and sent him royal letters. As he heard of Rānā Sangā's rapid advance, he had no resource but to call on Sayyid Rafī<sup>1</sup> for mediation, surrender the fort to our men, and come in with Sayyid Rafī, when he was exalted to the felicity of an interview.<sup>2</sup> I bestowed on him a pargana in Miān-dū-āb worth 20 *laks*.<sup>3</sup> Dost, Lord-of-the-gate was sent for a time to Bīāna, but a few days later it was bestowed on Madhī Khwāja with a fixed allowance of 70 *laks*,<sup>4</sup> and he was given leave to go there.

Tātār Khān *Sārang-khānī*, who was in Gūālīār, had been sending constantly to assure us of his obedience and good-wishes. After the pagan took Kandār and was close to Bīāna, Dharmankat, one of the Gūālīār rājas, and another pagan styled Khān-i-jahān, went into the Gūālīār neighbourhood and, coveting the fort, began to stir trouble and tumult. Tātār Khān, thus placed in difficulty, was for surrendering Gūālīār (to us). Most of our begs, household and best braves being away with (Humāyūn's) army or on various raids, we joined to Raḥīm-dād a few Bhīra men and Lāhorīs with Hastachī<sup>5</sup> *tūnqūār* and his brethren. We assigned *parganas* in Gūālīār itself to all those mentioned above. Mullā Apāq and Shaikh Gurān (G'hurān) went also with them, they to return after Raḥīm-dād was established in Gūālīār. By the time they were near Gūālīār however, Tātār Khān's views had changed, and he did not invite them into the fort. Meantime Shaikh Muhammad *Ghaus* (Helper), a darwish-like man, not only very learned but with a large following of students and disciples, sent from inside the fort to Raḥīm-dād, "Get yourselves into the fort somehow, for

Fol. 304b.

<sup>1</sup> Rafī 'u-d-dīn *Şafawī*, a native of Īj near the Persian Gulf, teacher of Abū'l-fazl's father and buried near Āgra (*Ayīn-i-akbarī*).

<sup>2</sup> This phrase, again, departs from Bābur's simplicity of statement.

<sup>3</sup> About £5,000 (Erskine).

<sup>4</sup> About £17,500 (Erskine).

<sup>5</sup> Hai. MS. and 215 f. 201b, Hastī; Elph. MS. f. 254, and Ilminsky, p. 394, Aīmshchī; *Memoirs*, p. 346, Imshiji, so too *Memoirs*, ii, 257.

the views of this person (Tātār Khān) have changed, and he has evil in his mind." Hearing this, Raḥīm-dād sent to say to Tātār Khān, "There is danger from the Pagan to those outside; let me bring a few men into the fort and let the rest stay outside." Under insistence, Tātār Khān agreed to this, and Raḥīm-dād went in with rather few men. Said he, "Let our people stay near this Gate," posted them near the Hāti-pul (Elephant-gate) and through that Gate during that same night brought in the whole of his troop. Next day, Tātār Khān, reduced to helplessness, willy-nilly, made over the fort, and set out to come and wait on me in Āgra. A subsistence allowance of 20 *laks* was assigned to him on Bīānwān *pargana*.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 305.

Muḥammad *Zaitūn* also took the only course open to him by surrendering Dūlpūr and coming to wait on me. A *pargana* worth a few *laks* was bestowed on him. Dūlpūr was made a royal domain (*khālṣa*) with Abū'l-faḥ *Turkmān*<sup>2</sup> as its military-collector (*shiqdār*).

In the Ḥiṣār-firūza neighbourhood Ḥamīd Khān *Sārang-khānī* with a body of his own Afghāns and of the Panī Afghāns he had collected—from 3 to 4,000 in all—was in a hostile and troublesome attitude. On Wednesday the 15th Ṣafar (Nov. 21st) we appointed against him Chīn-tīmūr Sī. (*Chaghatāī*) with the commanders Secretary Aḥmadī, Abū'l-faḥ *Turkmān*, Malik Dād *Kavarānī*<sup>3</sup> and Mujāhid Khān of Multān. These going, fell suddenly on him from a distance, beat his Afghāns well, killed a mass of them and sent in many heads.

(e. *Embassy from Persia.*)

In the last days of Ṣafar, Khwājagī Asad who had been sent to Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp<sup>4</sup> in 'Irāq, returned with a Turkmān named Sulaimān who amongst other gifts brought two Circassian girls (*qīzlār*).

<sup>1</sup> About £5000 (Erskine). Bīānwān lies in the *sūbah* of Āgra.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. f. 175 for Bābur's estimate of his service.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. f. 268b for Bābur's clemency to him.

<sup>4</sup> Firishta (Briggs ii, 53) mentions that Asad had gone to Ṭahmāsp from Kābul to congratulate him on his accession. Shāh Ismā'il had died in 930 A.H. (1524 A.D.); the title Shāh-zāda is a misnomer therefore in 933 A.H.—one possibly prompted by Ṭahmāsp's youth.

(f. *Attempt to poison Bābur.*)

(Dec. 21st) On Friday the 16th of the first Rabi' a strange event occurred which was detailed in a letter written to Kābul. That letter is inserted here just as it was written, without addition or taking-away, and is as follows:—<sup>1</sup>

“The details of the momentous event of Friday the 16th of the first Rabi' in the date 933 [Dec. 21st 1526 AD.] are as follows:—The ill-omened old woman<sup>2</sup> Ibrāhīm's mother heard that I ate things from the hands of Hindūstānīs—the thing being that three or four months earlier, as I had not seen Hindūstānī dishes, I had ordered Ibrāhīm's cooks to be brought and out of 50 or 60 had kept four. Of this she heard, sent to Atāwa (Etāwa) for Aḥmad the *chāshnīgīr*—in Hindūstān they call a taster (*bakāwal*) a *chāshnīgīr*—and, having got him,<sup>3</sup> gave a *tūla* of poison, wrapped in a square of paper,—as has been mentioned a *tūla* is rather more than 2 *mišqāls*<sup>4</sup>—into the hand of a slave-woman who was to give it to him. That poison Aḥmad gave to the Hindūstānī cooks in our kitchen, promising them four *parganas* if they would get it somehow into the food. Following the first slave-woman that ill-omened old woman sent a second to see if the first did or did not give the poison she had received to Aḥmad. Well was it that Aḥmad put the poison not into the cooking-pot but on a dish! He did not put it into the pot because I had strictly ordered the tasters to compel any Hindūstānīs who were present while food was cooking in the pots, to taste that food.<sup>5</sup> Our graceless tasters were neglectful when the food (*āsh*) was being dished up. Thin slices of bread were put on a porcelain dish; on these less than half of the paper packet of poison was sprinkled, and over this buttered

Fol. 305b.

<sup>1</sup> The letter is likely to have been written to Māhīm and to have been brought back to India by her in 935 AH. (f. 380b). Some MSS. of the Pers. trs. reproduce it in Turkī and follow this by a Persian version; others omit the Turkī.

<sup>2</sup> Turkī, *būā*. Hindi *bawā* means sister or paternal-aunt but this would not suit from Bābur's mouth, the more clearly not that his epithet for the offender is *bad-bakht*. Gul-badan (H.N. f. 19) calls her “ill-omened demon”.

<sup>3</sup> She may have been still in the place assigned to her near Āgra when Bābur occupied it (f. 269).

<sup>4</sup> f. 290. Erskine notes that the *tūla* is about equal in weight to the silver *rūpi*.

<sup>5</sup> It appears from the kitchen-arrangements detailed by Abū'l-faḥl, that before food was dished up, it was tasted from the pot by a cook and a subordinate taster, and next by the Head-taster.

Fol. 306. fritters were laid. It would have been bad if the poison had been strewn on the fritters or thrown into the pot. In his confusion, the man threw the larger half into the fire-place."

"On Friday, late after the Afternoon Prayer, when the cooked meats were set out, I ate a good deal of a dish of hare and also much fried carrot, took a few mouthfuls of the poisoned Hindūstānī food without noticing any unpleasant flavour, took also a mouthful or two of dried-meat (*qāq*). Then I felt sick. As some dried meat eaten on the previous day had had an unpleasant taste, I thought my nausea due to the dried-meat. Again and again my heart rose; after retching two or three times I was near vomiting on the table-cloth. At last I saw it would not do, got up, went retching every moment of the way to the water-closet (*āb-khāna*) and on reaching it vomited much. Never had I vomited after food, used not to do so indeed while drinking. I became suspicious; I had the cooks put in ward and ordered some of the vomit given to a dog and the dog to be watched. It was somewhat out-of-sorts near the first watch of the next day; its belly was swollen and however much people threw stones at it and turned it over, it did not get up. In that state it remained till mid-day; it then got up; it did not die.

Fol. 306b. One or two of the braves who also had eaten of that dish, vomited a good deal next day; one was in a very bad state. In the end all escaped. (*Persian*) 'An evil arrived but happily passed on!' God gave me new-birth! I am coming from that other world; I am born today of my mother; I was sick; I live; through God, I know today the worth of life!"<sup>2</sup>

"I ordered Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad to watch the cook; when he was taken for torture (*qīn*), he related the above particulars one after another."

"Monday being Court-day, I ordered the grandees and notables, amīrs and wazīrs to be present and that those two men and two women should be brought and questioned. They there related the particulars of the affair. That taster I had cut in pieces, that cook skinned alive; one of those women I had thrown

<sup>2</sup> The Turki sentences which here follow the well-known Persian proverb, *Rasīda būd balāi walī ba khair guzāsh*t, are entered as verse in some MSS.; they may be a prose quotation.

under an elephant, the other shot with a match-lock. The old woman (*būā*) I had kept under guard; she will meet her doom, the captive of her own act.”<sup>1</sup>

“On Saturday I drank a bowl of milk, on Sunday ‘*araq*’ in which stamped-clay was dissolved.<sup>2</sup> On Monday I drank milk in which were dissolved stamped-clay and the best theriac,<sup>3</sup> a strong purge. As on the first day, Saturday, something very dark like parched bile was voided.”

“Thanks be to God! no harm has been done. Till now I had not known so well how sweet a thing life can seem! As the line has it, ‘He who has been near to death knows the worth of life.’ Spite of myself, I am all upset whenever the dreadful occurrence comes back to my mind. It must have been God’s favour gave me life anew; with what words can I thank him?” Fol. 307.

“Although the terror of the occurrence was too great for words, I have written all that happened, with detail and circumstance, because I said to myself, ‘Don’t let their hearts be kept in anxiety!’ Thanks be to God! there may be other days yet to see! All has passed off well and for good; have no fear or anxiety in your minds.”

“This was written on Tuesday the 20th of the first Rabi’, I being then in the Chār-bāgh.”

When we were free from the anxiety of these occurrences, the above letter was written and sent to Kābul.

(*g. Dealings with Ibrāhīm’s family.*)

As this great crime had raised its head through that ill-omened old woman (*būā-i-bad-bakht*), she was given over to Yūnas-i-‘alī and Khwājagī Asad who after taking her money and goods, slaves and slave-women (*dādūkh*), made her over for careful watch to ‘Abdu’r-rahīm *shaghāwal*.<sup>4</sup> Her grandson, Ibrāhīm’s son had been cared for with much respect and delicacy, but as the attempt on my life had been made, clearly, by that family, it

<sup>1</sup> She, after being put under contribution by two of Bābur’s officers (f. 307b) was started off for Kābul, but, perhaps dreading her reception there, threw herself into the Indus in crossing and was drowned. (Cf. A.N. trs. H. Beveridge *Errata* and *addenda* p. xi for the authorities.)

<sup>2</sup> *gil makhtūm*, Lemnian earth, *terra sigillata*, each piece of which was impressed, when taken from the quarry, with a guarantee-stamp (Cf. Ency. Br. s.n. Lemnos).

<sup>3</sup> *tirīāq-i-fārūq*, an antidote.

<sup>4</sup> Index s.n.



did not seem advisable to keep him in Āgra; he was joined therefore to Mullā Sarsān—who had come from Kāmṛān on important business—and was started off with the Mullā to Kāmṛān on Thursday Rabī' I. 29th (Jan. 3rd 1527 AD).<sup>1</sup>

(*h. Humāyūn's campaign.*)

Fol. 307b. Humāyūn, acting against the Eastern rebels<sup>2</sup> took Jūna-pūr (*sic*), went swiftly against Naṣīr Khān (*Nūḥānī*) in Ghāzī-pūr and found that he had gone across the Gang-river, presumably on news\* of Humāyūn's approach. From Ghāzī-pūr Humāyūn went against Kharīd<sup>3</sup> but the Afghāns of the place had crossed the Sārū-water (Gogra) presumably on the news\* of his coming. Kharīd was plundered and the army turned back.

Humāyūn, in accordance with my arrangements, left Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and Si. Juna'id with a body of effective braves in Jūna-pūr, posted Qāzī Jīā with them, and placed Shaikh Bāyazīd [*Farmūlī*] in Aude (Oude). These important matters settled, he crossed Gang from near Karrah-Mānikpūr and took the Kālpī road. When he came opposite Kālpī, in which was Jalāl Khān *Jik-hat's* (son) 'Ālam Khān who had sent me dutiful letters but had not waited on me himself, he sent some-one to chase fear from 'Ālam Khān's heart and so brought him along (to Āgra).

Humāyūn arrived and waited on me in the Garden of Eight-paradises<sup>4</sup> on Sunday the 3rd of the 2nd Rabī' (Jan. 6th 1527 AD). On the same day Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand arrived from Kābul.

(*i. Rānā Sangā's approach.*)<sup>5</sup>

Meantime Mahdī Khwāja's people began to come in, treading on one another's heels and saying, "The Rānā's advance is

<sup>1</sup> Kāmṛān was in Qandahār (Index *s.n.*). Erskine observes here that Bābur's omission to give the name of Ibrāhīm's son, is noteworthy; the son may however have been a child and his name not known to or recalled by Bābur when writing some years later.

<sup>2</sup> f. 299b.

<sup>3</sup> The *Ayīn-i-akbarī* locates this in the *sarkār* of Jūn-pūr, a location suiting the context. The second Persian translation ('Abdu'r-rahīm's) has here a scribe's skip from one "news" to another (both asterisked in my text); hence Erskine has an omission.

<sup>4</sup> This is the Chār-bāgh of f. 300, known later as the Rām (Arām)-bāgh (Garden-of-rest).

<sup>5</sup> Presumably he was coming up from Marwār.

certain. Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī* is heard of also as likely to join him. They must be thought about above all else. It would favour our fortune, if a troop came ahead of the army to reinforce Bīāna.”

Fol. 308.

Deciding to get to horse, we sent on, to ride light to Bīāna, the commanders Muḥammad Sl. Mīrẓā, Yūnas-i-'alī, Shāh Maṅṣūr *Barlās*, Kitta Beg, Qismatī<sup>1</sup> and Būjka.

In the fight with Ibrāhīm, Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī's* son Nāhar Khān had fallen into our hands; we had kept him as an hostage and, ostensibly on his account, his father had been making comings-and-goings with us, constantly asking for him. It now occurred to several people that if Ḥasan Khān were conciliated by sending him his son, he would thereby be the more favourably disposed and his waiting on me might be the better brought about. Accordingly Nāhar Khān was dressed in a robe of honour; promises were made to him for his father, and he was given leave to go. That hypocritical mannikin [Ḥasan Khān] must have waited just till his son had leave from me to go, for on hearing of this and while his son as yet had not joined him, he came out of Alūr (Alwar) and at once joined Rānā Sangā in Toda(bhīm, Āgra District). It must have been ill-judged to let his son go just then.

Meantime much rain was falling; parties were frequent; even Humāyūn was present at them and, abhorrent though it was to him, sinned<sup>2</sup> every few days.

(j. *Tramontane affairs.*)

One of the strange events in these days of respite<sup>3</sup> was this:—When Humāyūn was coming from Fort Victory (Qila'-i-ẓafar) to join the Hindūstān army, (Muḥ. 932 AH. — Oct. 1525 AD.) Mullā Bābā of Pashāghar (*Chaghatāi*) and his younger brother Bābā Shaikh deserted on the way, and went to Kitīn-qarā Sl. (*Aūzbeḡ*), into whose hands Balkh had fallen through the

Fol. 308b.

<sup>1</sup> This name varies; the Hai. MS. in most cases writes Qismatī, but on f. 267b, Qismatāi; the Elph. MS. on f. 220 has Q:s:mnāi; De Courteille writes Qismi.

<sup>2</sup> *artikāb qilātī*, perhaps drank wine, perhaps ate opium-confections to the use of which he became addicted later on (Gulbadan's *Humāyūn-nāma* f. 30b and 73b).

<sup>3</sup> *furṣatīlār*, i.e. between the occupation of Āgra and the campaign against Rānā Sangā.

enfeeblement of its garrison.<sup>1</sup> This hollow mannikin and his younger brother having taken the labours of this side (Cis-Balkh?) on their own necks, come into the neighbourhood of Aibak, Khurram and Sār-bāgh.<sup>2</sup>

Shāh Sikandar—his footing in Ghūrī lost through the surrender of Balkh—is about to make over that fort to the Aūzbeg, when Mullā Bābā and Bābā Shaikh, coming with a few Aūzbegs, take possession of it. Mīr Hamah, as his fort is close by, has no help for it; he is for submitting to the Aūzbeg, but a few days later Mullā Bābā and Bābā Shaikh come with a few Aūzbegs to Mīr Hamah's fort, purposing to make the Mīr and his troop march out and to take them towards Balkh. Mīr Hamah makes Bābā Shaikh dismount inside the fort, and gives the rest felt huts (*āūtāq*) here and there. He slashes at Bābā Shaikh, puts him and some others in bonds, and sends a man galloping off to Tīngri-birdī (*Qūchīn*, in Qūndūz). Tīngri-birdī sends off Yār-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-laṭīf with a few effective braves, but before they reach Mīr Hamah's fort, Mullā Bābā has arrived there with his Aūzbegs; he had thought of a hand-to-hand fight (*āūrūsh-mūrūsh*), but he can do nothing. Mīr Hamah and his men joined Tīngri-birdī's and came to Qūndūz. Bābā Shaikh's wound must have been severe; they cut his head off and Mīr Hamah brought it (to Āgra) in these same days of respite. I uplifted his head with favour and kindness, distinguishing him amongst his fellows and equals. When Bāqī *shaghāwal* went [to Balkh]<sup>3</sup> I promised him a *ser* of gold for the head of each of the ill-conditioned old couple; one *ser* of gold was now given to Mīr Hamah for Bābā Shaikh's head, over and above the favours referred to above.<sup>4</sup>

Fol. 309.

(*k. Action of part of the Bāna reinforcement.*)

Qismatī who had ridden light for Bāna, brought back several heads he had cut off; when he and Būjka had gone with a few

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the siege Bābur broke up in 931 AH. had been renewed by the Aūzbegs (f. 255b and Trs. Note s.a. 931 AH. section c).

<sup>2</sup> These places are on the Khulm-river between Khulm and Kāhmard. The present tense of this and the following sentences is Babur's.

<sup>3</sup> f. 261.

<sup>4</sup> Erskine here notes that if the *ser* Bābur mentions be one of 14 *tūlas*, the value is about £27; if of 24 *tūlas*, about £45.

braves to get news, they had beaten two of the Pagan's scouting-parties and had made 70 to 80 prisoners. Qismatī brought news that Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī* really had joined Rānā Sangā.

(*l. Trial-test of the large mortar of f. 302.*)

(*Feb. 10th*) On Sunday the 8th of the month (Jumāda I.), I went to see Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharge stones from that large mortar of his in casting which the stone-chamber was without defect and which he had completed afterwards by casting the powder-compartment. It was discharged at the Afternoon Prayer; the throw of the stone was 1600 paces. A gift was made to the Master of a sword-belt, robe of honour, and *tīpūchāq* (horse).

(*m. Bābur leaves Āgra against Rānā Sangā.*)

(*Feb. 11th*) On Monday the 9th of the first Jumāda, we got out of the suburbs of Āgra, on our journey (*safar*) for the Holy War, and dismounted in the open country, where we remained three or four days to collect our army and be its rallying-point.<sup>1</sup> As little confidence was placed in Hindūstānī people, the Hindūstān amīrs were inscribed for expeditions to this or to that side:—'Ālam Khān (*Tahangarī*) was sent hastily to Gūālīār to reinforce Raḥīm-dād; Makan, Qāsīm Beg *Sanbalī* (*Sambhalī*), Ḥamīd with his elder and younger brethren and Muḥammad *Zaitūn* were inscribed to go swiftly to Sanbal.

Fol. 309b.

(*n. Defeat of the advance-force.*)

Into this same camp came the news that owing to Rānā Sangā's swift advance with all his army,<sup>2</sup> our scouts were able neither to get into the fort (Bīāna) themselves nor to send news into it. The Bīāna garrison made a rather incautious sally too far out; the enemy fell on them in some force and put them to

<sup>1</sup> T. *chāpūq*. Cf. the two Persian translations 215 f. 205b and 217 f. 215; also Ilminsky, p. 401.

<sup>2</sup> *būlgān chīrīkī*. The Rānā's forces are thus stated by Tod (*Rājastān; Annals of Marwār* Cap. ix):—"Eighty thousand horse, 7 Rajas of the highest rank, 9 Raos, and 104 chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field." Bābur's army, all told, was 12,000 when he crossed the Indus from Kābul; it will have had accretions from his own officers in the Panj-āb and some also from other quarters, and will have had losses at Pānīpat; his reliable kernel of fighting-strength cannot but have been numerically insignificant, compared with the Rājput host. Tod says that almost all the princes of Rājastān followed the Rānā at Kanwā.

roul.<sup>1</sup> There Sangur Khān *Janjūha* became a martyr. Kitta Beg had galloped into the pell-mell without his cuirass ; he got one pagan afoot (*yāyāglātāb*) and was overcoming him, when the pagan snatched a sword from one of Kitta Beg's own servants and slashed the Beg across the shoulder. Kitta Beg suffered great pain ; he could not come into the Holy-battle with Rānā Sangā, was long in recovering and always remained blemished.

Whether because they were themselves afraid, or whether to frighten others is not known but Qismatī, Shāh Maṣṣūr *Barlās* and all from Bīāna praised and lauded the fierceness and valour of the pagan army.

Qāsim Master-of-the-horse was sent from the starting-ground (*saḡar qūlghān yūrt*) with his spadesmen, to dig many wells where the army was next to dismount in the Madhākūr *pargana*.

(Feb. 16th) Marching out of Āgra on Saturday the 14th of the first Jumāda, dismount was made where the wells had been dug. We marched on next day. It crossed my mind that the well-watered ground for a large camp was at Sikrī.<sup>2</sup> It being possible that the Pagan was encamped there and in possession of the water, we arrayed precisely, in right, left and centre. As Qismatī and Darwīsh-i-muḡammad *Sārbān* in their comings and goings had seen and got to know all sides of Bīāna, they were sent ahead to look for camping-ground on the bank of the Sikrī-lake (*kūl*). When we reached the (Madhākūr) camp, persons were sent galloping off to tell Mahdī Khwāja and the Bīāna garrison to join me without delay. Humāyūn's servant Beg Mirak *Mughūl* was sent out with a few braves to get news of the Pagan. They started that night, and next morning brought word that he was heard of as having arrived and dismounted at a place one *kuroh* (2 miles) on our side (*aīlkārāke*) of Basāwar.<sup>3</sup> On this same day Mahdī Khwāja and Muḡammad Sī. Mīrzā rejoined us with the troops that had ridden light to Bīāna.

<sup>1</sup> *dūrbātūr*. This is the first use of the word in the *Bābur-nāma* ; the defacer of the Elph. Codex has altered it to *aūrūtūr*.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Zain records [Abū'l-faḡl also, perhaps quoting from him] that Bābur, by varying diacritical points, changed the name Sikrī to Shukrī in sign of gratitude for his victory over the Rānā. The place became the Faḡhpūr-sikrī of Akbar.

<sup>3</sup> Erskine locates this as 10 to 12 miles n. w. of Bīāna.

(o. *Discomfiture of a reconnoitring party.*)

The begs were appointed in turns for scouting-duty. When it was 'Abdu'l-'azīz's turn, he went out of Sikrī, looking neither before nor behind, right out along the road to Kanwā which is 5 *kuroh* (10 m.) away. The Rānā must have been marching forward; he heard of our men's moving out in their reinless (*jalāū-sīz*) way, and made 4 or 5,000 of his own fall suddenly on them. With 'Abdu'l-'azīz and Mullā Apāq may have been 1000 to 1500 men; they took no stock of their opponents but just got to grips; they were hurried off at once, many of them being made prisoner. Fol. 310b.

On news of this, we despatched Khalifa's Muḥibb-i-'alī with Khalifa's retainers. Mullā Husain and some others *aūbrūq-sūbrūq*<sup>1\*</sup> were sent to support them,<sup>2</sup> and Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* also. Presumably it was before the arrival of this first, Muḥibb-i-'alī's, reinforcement that the Pagan had hurried off 'Abdu'l-'azīz and his men, taken his standard, martyred Mullā Ni'mat, Mullā Dāūd and the younger brother of Mullā Apāq, with several more. Directly the reinforcement arrived the pagans overcame Ṭāhir-tibrī, the maternal uncle of Khalifa's Muḥibb-i-'alī, who had not got up with the hurrying reinforcement [?].<sup>3</sup> Meantime Muḥibb-i-'alī even had been thrown down,

<sup>1</sup> This phrase has not occurred in the B. N. before; presumably it expresses what has not yet been expressed; this Erskine's rendering, "each according to the speed of his horse," does also. The first Persian translation, which in this portion is by Muḥammad-qulī *Mughūl Hīšārī*, translates by *az dambal yak āgar* (I. O. 215, f. 205d); the second, 'Abdu'r-rāhīm's, merely reproduces the phrase; De Courteille (ii, 272) appears to render it by (amirs) *que je ne nomme pas*. If my reading of Ṭāhir-tibrī's failure be correct (*infra*), Erskine's translation suits the context.

<sup>2</sup> The passage cut off by my asterisks has this outside interest that it forms the introduction to the so-called "Fragments", that is, to certain Turki matter not included in the standard *Bābur-nāma*, but preserved with the Kehr - Ilminsky - de Courteille text. As is well-known in Bāburiana, opinion has varied as to the genesis of this matter; there is now no doubt that it is a translation into Turki from the (*Persian*) *Akbar-nāma*, prefaced by the above-asterisked passage of the *Bābur-nāma* and continuous (with slight omissions) from Bib. Ind. ed. i, 106 to 120 (trs. H. Beveridge i, 260 to 282). It covers the time from before the battle of Kanwā to the end of Abū'l-fazl's description of Bābur's death, attainments and Court; it has been made to seem Bābur's own, down to his death-bed, by changing the third person of A. F.'s narrative into the autobiographical first person. (Cf. Ilminsky, p. 403 l. 4 and p. 494; *Mémoires* ii, 272 and 443 to 464; JRAS. 1908, p. 76.)

A minute point in the history of the B. N. manuscripts may be placed on record here; *viz.* that the variants from the true *Bābur-nāma* text which occur in the Kehr - Ilminsky one, occur also in the corrupt Turki text of I. O. No. 214 (JRAS 1900, p. 455).

<sup>3</sup> *chāpār kūmak yūtmās*, perhaps implying that the speed of his horses was not equal to that of Muḥibb-i-'alī's. Translators vary as to the meaning of the phrase.

but Bāltū getting in from the rear, brought him out. The enemy pursued for over a *kuroh* (2 m.), stopped however at the sight of the black mass of Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang's* troops.

Foot upon foot news came that the foe had come near and nearer. We put on our armour and our horses' mail, took our arms and, ordering the carts to be dragged after us, rode out at the gallop. We advanced one *kuroh*. The foe must have turned aside.

(*p. Bābur fortifies his camp.*)

Fol. 311. For the sake of water, we dismounted with a large lake (*kūl*) on one side of us. Our front was defended by carts chained together\*, the space between each two, across which the chains stretched, being 7 or 8 *qārī* (*circa* yards). Mustāfa Rūmī had had the carts made in the Rūmī way, excellent carts, very strong and suitable.<sup>1</sup> As Ustād 'Alī-qulī was jealous of him, Mustāfa was posted to the right, in front of Humāyūn. Where the carts did not reach to, Khurāsānī and Hindūstānī spademen and miners were made to dig a ditch.

Owing to the Pagan's rapid advance, to the fighting-work in Bīāna and to the praise and laud of the pagans made by Shāh Maṅṣūr, Qismatī and the rest from Bīāna, people in the army shewed sign of want of heart. On the top of all this came the defeat of 'Abdu'l-'azīz. In order to hearten our men, and give a look of strength to the army, the camp was defended and shut in where there were no carts, by stretching ropes of raw hide on wooden tripods, set 7 or 8 *qārī* apart. Time had drawn out to 20 or 25 days before these appliances and materials were fully ready.<sup>2</sup>

(*q. A reinforcement from Kābul.*)

Just at this time there arrived from Kābul Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sl. (*Aūzbeḡ Shaiḡbān*) who is the son of a daughter of Sl. Ḥusain M. (*Bāi-qarā*), and with him Aḡmad-i-yūsuf (*Aūḡhlāqchī*), Qawwām-i-aūrdū Shāh and also several single friends of mine,

<sup>1</sup> Erskine and de Courteille both give Mustāfa the commendation the Turkī and Persian texts give to the carts.

<sup>2</sup> According to Tod's *Rājastān*, negotiations went on during the interval, having for their object the fixing of a frontier between the Rānā and Bābur. They were conducted by a "traitor" Ṣalah'd-dīn *Tūār* the chief of Raisin, who moreover is said to have deserted to Bābur during the battle.

counting up in all to 500 men. Muḥammad Sharīf, the astrologer of ill-augury, came with them too, so did Bābā Dost the water-bearer (*sūchī*) who, having gone to Kābul for wine, had there loaded three strings of camels with acceptable Ghaznī wines. Fol. 311b.

At a time such as this, when, as has been mentioned, the army was anxious and afraid by reason of past occurrences and vicissitudes, wild words and opinions, this Muḥammad Sharīf, the ill-augurer, though he had not a helpful word to say to me, kept insisting to all he met, "Mars is in the west in these days; <sup>1</sup> who comes into the fight from this (east) side will be defeated." Timid people who questioned the ill-augurer, became the more shattered in heart. We gave no ear to his wild words, made no change in our operations, but got ready in earnest for the fight.

(Feb. 24th) On Sunday the 22nd (of Jumāda I.) Shaikh Jamāl was sent to collect all available quiver-wearers from between the two waters (Ganges and Jumna) and from Dihlī, so that with this force he might over-run and plunder the Mīwāt villages, leaving nothing undone which could awaken the enemy's anxiety for that side. Mullā Tark-i-'alī, then on his way from Kābul, was ordered to join Shaikh Jamāl and to neglect nothing of ruin and plunder in Mīwāt; orders to the same purport were given also to Maghfūr the Dīwān. They went; they over-ran and raided a few villages in lonely corners (*būjquq*); they took some prisoners; but their passage through did not arouse much anxiety!

(*r. Bābur renounces wine.*)

On Monday the 23rd of the first Jumāda (Feb. 25th), when I went out riding, I reflected, as I rode, that the wish to cease from sin had been always in my mind, and that my forbidden acts had set lasting stain upon my heart. Said I, "Oh! my soul!" Fol. 312.

(*Persian*) "How long wilt thou draw savour from sin?  
Repentance is not without savour, taste it!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. f. 89 for Bābur's disastrous obedience to astrological warning.

<sup>2</sup> For the reading of this second line, given by the good MSS. viz. *Tauba ham bī mana nīst, bachash*, Ilminsky (p. 405) has *Tauba ham bī masa, mast bakhshis*, which de Courteille [II, 276] renders by, "O ivrogne insensé! que ne goûtes-tu aussi à la pénitence?" The Persian couplet seems likely to be a quotation and may yet be found elsewhere. It is not in the Rāmpūr Dīwān which contains the Turkī verses following it (E. D. Ross p. 21).



(*Turkī*) Through years how many has sin defiled thee?  
 How much of peace has transgression given thee?  
 How much hast thou been thy passions' slave?  
 How much of thy life flung away?

With the Ghāzī's resolve since now thou hast marched,  
 Thou hast looked thine own death in the face!  
 Who resolves to hold stubbornly fast to the death,  
 Thou knowest what change he attains,

That far he removes him from all things forbidden,  
 That from all his offences he cleanses himself.  
 With my own gain before me, I vowed to obey,  
 In this my transgression,<sup>2</sup> the drinking of wine.<sup>2</sup>

The flagons and cups of silver and gold, the vessels of feasting,  
 I had them all brought;  
 I had them all broken up<sup>3</sup> then and there.  
 Thus eased I my heart by renouncement of wine.

The fragments of the gold and silver vessels were shared out to deserving persons and to darwīshes. The first to agree in renouncing wine was 'Asas;<sup>4</sup> he had already agreed also about leaving his beard untrimmed.<sup>5</sup> That night and next day some 300 begs and persons of the household, soldiers and not soldiers, renounced wine. What wine we had with us was poured on the ground; what Bābā Dost had brought was ordered salted to make vinegar. At the place where the wine was poured upon the ground, a well was ordered to be dug, built up with stone and having an almshouse beside it. It was already finished in Muḥarram 935 (A.H.—Sep. 1528 AD.) at the time I went to Sikrī from Dūlpūr on my way back from visiting Gūālīār.

Fol. 312b.

<sup>2</sup> *kīchmāklik*, to pass over (to exceed?), to ford or go through a river, whence to transgress. The same metaphor of crossing a stream occurs, in connection with drinking, on f. 189b.

<sup>3</sup> This line shews that Bābur's renouncement was of wine only; he continued to eat confections (*ma'jūn*).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. f. 186b. Bābur would announce his renunciation in Diwān; there too the forbidden vessels of precious metals would be broken. His few words leave it to his readers to picture the memorable scene.

<sup>5</sup> This night-guard (*'asas*) cannot be the one concerning whom Gul-badan records that he was the victim of a little joke made at his expense by Bābur (H. N. Index s. n.). He seems likely to be the Hāji Muḥ. '*asas* whom Abū'l-faḍl mentions in connection with Kāmran in 953 A.H. (1547 AD.). He may be the '*asas* who took charge of Bābur's tomb at Agra (cf. Gul-badan's H. N. s. n. Muḥ. 'Alī '*asas ṭaghātī*, and *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 502).

<sup>6</sup> *saqālī gīrqmāqta u qūmāqta*. Erskine here notes that "a vow to leave the beard untrimmed was made sometimes by persons who set out against the infidels. They did not trim the beard till they returned victorious. Some vows of similar nature may be found in Scripture", e.g. II Samuel, chap. 19 v. 24.

(*s. Remission of a due.*)

I had vowed already that, if I gained the victory over Sangā the pagan, I would remit the *tamghā*<sup>1</sup> to all Musalmāns. Of this vow Darwish-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* and Shaikh Zain reminded me at the time I renounced wine. Said I, "You do well to remind me."

\* *The tamghā* was remitted to all Musalmāns of the dominions I held.<sup>2</sup> I sent for the clerks (*munshilār*), and ordered them to write for their news-letters (*akḥbar*) the *farmān* concerning the two important acts that had been done. Shaikh Zain wrote the *farmān* with his own elegance (*inshāsī bila*) and his fine letter (*inshā*) was sent to all my dominions. It is as follows:—<sup>3</sup>

#### FARMĀN ANNOUNCING BĀBUR'S RENUNCIATION OF WINE.<sup>4</sup>

*5 Let us praise the Long-suffering One who loveth the penitent and who loveth the cleansers of themselves; and let thanks be rendered to the Gracious One who absolveth His debtors, and forgiveth those who seek forgiveness. Blessings be upon Muhammad the Crown of Creatures, on the Holy family, on the pure Companions, and on the mirrors of the glorious congregation, to wit, the Masters of Wisdom who are treasure-houses of the pearls of purity and who bear the impress of the sparkling jewels of this purport:—that the nature of man is prone to evil, and that the abandonment of sinful appetites is only feasible by Divine aid* Fol. 313.

<sup>1</sup> Index *s.n.* The *tamghā* was not really abolished until Jahāngir's time—if then (H. Beveridge). See Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*.

<sup>2</sup> There is this to notice here:—Bābur's narrative has made the remission of the *tamghā* contingent on his success, but the *farmān* which announced that remission is dated some three weeks before his victory over Rānā Sangā (Jumāda II, 13th—March 16th). Manifestly Bābur's remission was absolute and made at the date given by Shaikh Zain as that of the *farmān*. The *farmān* seems to have been despatched as soon as it was ready, but may have been inserted in Bābur's narrative at a later date, together with the preceding paragraph which I have asterisked.

<sup>3</sup> "There is a lacuna in the Turkī copy" (*i.e.* the Elphinstone Codex) "from this place to the beginning of the year 935. Till then I therefore follow only Mr. Metcalfe's and my own Persian copies" (Erskine).

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to my husband for this revised version of the *farmān*. He is indebted to M. de Courteille for help generally, and specially for the references to the Qorān (*q.v. infra*).

<sup>5</sup> The passages in italics are Arabic in the original, and where traced to the Qorān, are in Sale's words.

and the help that cometh from on high. "*Every soul is prone unto evil,*"<sup>1</sup> (and again) "*This is the bounty of God; He will give the same unto whom He pleaseth; and God is endued with great bounty.*"<sup>2</sup>

Our motive for these remarks and for repeating these statements is that, by reason of human frailty, of the customs of kings and of the great, all of us, from the Shāh to the sipāhī, in the heyday of our youth, have transgressed and done what we ought not to have done. After some days of sorrow and repentance, we abandoned evil practices one by one, and the gates of retrogression became closed. But the renunciation of wine, the greatest and most indispensable of renunciations, remained under a veil in the chamber of deeds *pledged to appear in due season*, and did not show its countenance until the glorious hour when we had put on the garb of the holy warrior and had encamped with the army of Islām over against the infidels in order to slay them. On this occasion I received a secret inspiration and heard an infallible voice say "*Is not the time yet come unto those who believe, that their hearts should humbly submit to the admonition of God, and that truth which hath been revealed?*"<sup>3</sup> Thereupon we set ourselves to extirpate the things of wickedness, and we earnestly knocked at the gates of repentance. The Guide of Help assisted us, according to the saying "*Whoever knocks and re-knocks, to him it will be opened*", and an order was given that with the Holy War there should begin the still greater war which has to be waged against sensuality. In short, we declared with sincerity that *we would subjugate our passions*, and I engraved on the tablet of my heart "*I turn unto Thee with repentance, and I am the first of true believers*"<sup>4</sup> And I made public the resolution to abstain from wine, which had been hidden in the treasury of my breast. The victorious servants, in accordance with the illustrious order, dashed upon the earth of contempt and destruction the flagons and the cups, and the other utensils in gold and silver, which in their number and their brilliance were like the stars of the firmament. They dashed them in pieces, as, God willing! soon

Fol. 313<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Qorān, Sūrah XII, v. 53.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah LVII, v. 15.*

<sup>2</sup> *Sūrah LVII, v. 21.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sūrah VII, v. 140.*

will be dashed the gods of the idolaters,—and they distributed the fragments among the poor and needy. By the blessing of this acceptable repentance, many of the courtiers, by virtue of the saying that *men follow the religion of their kings*, embraced abstinence at the same assemblage, and entirely renounced the use of wine, and up till now crowds of our subjects hourly attain this auspicious happiness. I hope that in accordance with the saying “*He who incites to good deeds has the same reward as he who does them*” the benefit of this action will react on the royal fortune and increase it day by day by victories.

After carrying out this design an universal decree was issued that in the imperial dominions—May God protect them from every danger and calamity—no-one shall partake of strong drink, or engage in its manufacture, nor sell it, nor buy it or possess it, nor convey it or fetch it. “*Beware of touching it.*” “*Perchance this will give you prosperity.*”<sup>1</sup> Fol. 314.

In thanks for these great victories,<sup>2</sup> and as a thank-offering for God's acceptance of repentance and sorrow, the ocean of the royal munificence became commoved, and those waves of kindness, which are the cause of the civilization of the world and of the glory of the sons of Adam, were displayed,—and throughout all the territories the tax (*tamghā*) on Musalmāns was abolished,—though its yield was more than the dreams of avarice, and though it had been established and maintained by former rulers,—for it is a practice outside of the edicts of the Prince of Apostles (Muḥammad). So a decree was passed that in no city, town, road, ferry, pass, or port, should the tax be levied or exacted. No alteration whatsoever of this order is to be permitted. “*Whoever after hearing it makes any change therein, the sin of such change will be upon him.*”<sup>3</sup>

The proper course (*sabīl*) for all who shelter under the shade of the royal benevolence, whether they be Turk, Tājik, ‘Arab, Hindī, or Fārsī (Persian), peasants or soldiers, of every nation or tribe

<sup>1</sup> *Sūrah* II, v. 185.

<sup>2</sup> These may be self-conquests as has been understood by Erskine (p. 356) and de Courteille (ii. 281) but as the Divine “acceptance” would seem to Bābur vouched for by his military success, “victories” may stand for his success at Kanwā.

<sup>3</sup> *Sūrah* II, 177 where, in Sale's translation, the change referred to is the special one of altering a legacy.

of the sons of Adam, is to strengthen themselves by the tenets of religion, and to be full of hope and prayer for the dynasty which is linked with eternity, and to adhere to these ordinances, and not in any way to transgress them. It behoves all to act according to this *farmān* ; they are to accept it as authentic when it comes attested by the Sign-Manual.

Written by order of the Exalted one,—May his excellence endure for ever ! on the 24th of Jumāda I. 933 (February 26th 1527).

(*t. Alarm in Bābur's camp.*)

Fol. 314b.

In these days, as has been mentioned, (our people) great and small, had been made very anxious and timid by past occurrences. No manly word or brave counsel was heard from any one soever. What bold speech was there from the wazīrs who are to speak out (*dīgūchī*), or from the amīrs who will devour the land (*wilāyat-yīghūchī*) ?<sup>1</sup> None had advice to give, none a bold plan of his own to expound. Khalīfa (however) did well in this campaign, neglecting nothing of control and supervision, painstaking and diligence.

At length after I had made enquiry concerning people's want of heart and had seen their slackness for myself, a plan occurred to me ; I summoned all the begs and braves and said to them, " Begs and braves !

(*Persian*) Who comes into the world will die ;  
What lasts and lives will be God.

(*Turki*) He who hath entered the assembly of life,  
Drinketh at last of the cup of death.

He who hath come to the inn of life,  
Passeth at last from Earth's house of woe.

<sup>1</sup> The words *dīgūchī* and *yīghūchī* are translated in the second *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī* by *sukhan-gūi* and [*wilāyat*]-*khwār*. This ignores in them the future element supplied by their component *gū* which would allow them to apply to conditions dependent on Bābur's success. The Hai. MS. and Ilminsky read *dīgūchī*, supporter- or helper-to-be, in place of the *yīghūchī*, eater-to-be I have inferred from the *khwār* of the Pers. translation ; hence de Courteille writes "*amīrs auxquels incombaît l'obligation de raffermir le gouvernement*". But Erskine, using the Pers. text alone, and thus having *khwār* before him, translates by, " amīrs who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms." The two *Turki* words make a depreciatory " jingle", but the first one, *dīgūchī*, may imply serious reference to the duty, declared by Muḥammad to be incumbent upon a wazīr, of reminding his sovereign " when he forgetteth his duty". Both may be taken as alluding to dignities to be attained by success in the encounter from which wazīrs and amīrs were shrinking.

“Better than life with a bad name, is death with a good one.

(*Persian*) Well is it with me, if I die with good name !  
A good name must I have, since the body is death's.<sup>1</sup>

“God the Most High has allotted to us such happiness and has created for us such good-fortune that we die as martyrs, we kill as avengers of His cause. Therefore must each of you take oath upon His Holy Word that he will not think of turning his face from this foe, or withdraw from this deadly encounter so long as life is not rent from his body.” All those present, beg and retainer, great and small, took the Holy Book joyfully into their hands and made vow and compact to this purport. The plan was perfect ; it worked admirably for those near and afar, for seers and hearers, for friend and foe. Fol. 315.

(*u. Bābur's perilous position.*)

In those same days trouble and disturbance arose on every side :—Hūsain Khān *Nuhānī* went and took Rāpri ; Quṭb Khān's man took Chandwār<sup>2</sup> ; a mannikin called Rustam Khān who had collected quiver-wearers from Between-the-two-waters (Ganges and Jamna), took Kūl (Koel) and made Kīchik 'Alī prisoner ; Khwāja Zāhid abandoned Saṃbal and went off ; Sī. Muḥammad *Dūldāi* came from Qanūj to me ; the Gūālīār pagans laid siege to that fort ; 'Ālam Khān when sent to reinforce it, did not go to Gūālīār but to his own district. Every day bad news came from every side. Desertion of many Hindūstānīs set in ; Haibat Khān *Karg-andāz*<sup>3</sup> deserted and went to Saṃbal ; Ḥasan Khān of Bārī deserted and joined the Pagan. We gave attention to none of them but went straight on with our own affair.

(*v. Bābur advances to fight.*)

The apparatus and appliances, the carts and wheeled tripods being ready, we arrayed in right, left and centre, and marched forward on New Year's Day,<sup>4</sup> Tuesday, the 9th of the second Jumāda (March 13th), having the carts<sup>5</sup> and wheeled tripods Fol. 315b.

<sup>1</sup> Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma* [Erskine].

<sup>2</sup> Also Chand-wāl ; it is 25 m. east of Āgra and on the Jamna [*Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣiri*, Raverty, p. 742 n.9].

<sup>3</sup> Probably, Overthrower of the rhinoceros, but if *Gurg-andāz* be read, of the wolf.

<sup>4</sup> According to the Persian calendar this is the day the Sun enters Aries.

<sup>5</sup> The practical purpose of this order of march is shewn in the account of the battle of Pānīpat, and in the Letter of Victory, f. 319.

moving in front of us, with Ustād 'Alī-qulī and all the matchlock-men ranged behind them in order that these men, being on foot, should not be left behind the array but should advance with it.

When the various divisions, right, left and centre, had gone each to its place, I galloped from one to another to give encouragement to begs, braves, and *siṭāhīs*. After each man had had assigned to him his post and usual work with his company, we advanced, marshalled on the plan determined, for as much as one *kuroh* (2 m.)<sup>1</sup> and then dismounted.

The Pagan's men, for their part, were on the alert; they came from their side, one company after another.

The camp was laid out and strongly protected by ditch and carts. As we did not intend to fight that day, we sent a few unmailed braves ahead, who were to get to grips with the enemy and thus take an omen. They made a few pagans prisoner, cut off and brought in their heads. Malik Qāsim also cut off and brought in a few heads; he did well. By these successes the hearts of our men became very strong.

When we marched on next day, I had it in my mind to fight, but Khalīfa and other well-wishers represented that the camping-ground previously decided on was near and that it would favour our fortunes if we had a ditch and defences made there and went there direct. Khalīfa accordingly rode off to get the ditch dug; he settled its position with the spades-men, appointed overseers of the work and returned to us.

Fol. 316.

(*v. The battle of Kānwa.*)<sup>2</sup>

On Saturday the 13th of the second Jumāda (March 17th, 1527 AD.) we had the carts dragged in front of us (as before), made a *kuroh* (2 m.) of road, arrayed in right, left and centre, and dismounted on the ground selected.

<sup>1</sup> *kurohcha*, perhaps a short *kuroh*, but I have not found Bābur using *cha* as a diminutive in such a case as *kurohcha*.

<sup>2</sup> or Kānūa, in the Biānā district and three marches from Biāna-town. "It had been determined on by Rānā Sangrām Singh (*i.e.* Sangā) for the northern limit of his dominions, and he had here built a small palace." Tod thus describes Bābur's foe, "Sangā Rānā was of the middle stature, and of great muscular strength, fair in complexion, with unusually large eyes which appear to be peculiar to his descendants. He exhibited at his death but the fragments of a warrior: one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in action with the Lodi kings of Dehli, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken by a cannon-ball in another; while he counted 80 wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body" (Tod's *Rājastān*, cap. Annals of Mewār).

A few tents had been set up; a few were in setting up when news of the appearance of the enemy was brought. Mounting instantly, I ordered every man to his post and that our array should be protected with the carts.<sup>1</sup>

\* As the following Letter-of-victory (*Faḥ-nāma*) which is what Shaikh Zain had indited, makes known particulars about the army of Islām, the great host of the pagans with the position of their arrayed ranks, and the encounters had between them and the army of Islām, it is inserted here without addition or deduction.<sup>2</sup>

## SHAIKH ZAIN'S LETTER-OF-VICTORY.

### (a. Introduction.)

*Praise be to God the Faithful Promiser, the Helper of His servants, the Supporter of His armies, the Scatterer of hostile hosts, the One alone without whom there is nothing.*

Fol. 316b.

<sup>1</sup> Here M. de C. has the following note (ii, 273 n.); it supplements my own of f. 264 [n. 3]. "*Le mot arāba, que j'ai traduit par chariot est pris par M. Leyden*" (this should be Erskine) "*dans le sens de 'gun', ce que je ne crois pas exact; tout au plus signifierait-il affût*" (gun-carriage). "*Il me paraît impossible d'admettre que Bāber eût à sa disposition une artillerie attelée aussi considérable. Ces arāba pouvaient servir en partie à transporter des pièces de campagne, mais ils avaient aussi une autre destination, comme on le voit par la suite du récit.*" It does not appear to me that Erskine translates the word *arāba* by the word *gun*, but that the *arābas* (all of which he took to be gun-carriages) being there, he supposed the guns. This was not correct as the various passages about carts as defences show (cf. Index s.nn. *arāba* and carts).

<sup>2</sup> It is characteristic of Bābur that he reproduces Shaikh Zain's *Faḥ-nāma*, not because of its eloquence but because of its useful details. Erskine and de Courteille have the following notes concerning Shaikh Zain's *farmān*:—"Nothing can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly and intelligent style of Baber himself, than the pompous, laboured periods of his secretary. Yet I have never read this *Firmān* to any native of India who did not bestow unlimited admiration on the official bombast of Zeineddin, while I have met with none but Turks who paid due praise to the calm simplicity of Baber" [Mems. p. 359]. "*Comme la précédente (farmān), cette pièce est rédigée en langue persane et offre un modèle des plus accomplis du style en usage dans les chancelleries orientales. La traduction d'un semblable morceau d'éloquence est de la plus grande difficulté, si on veut être clair, tout en restant fidèle à l'original.*"

Like the Renunciation *farmān*, the Letter-of-victory with its preceding sentence which I have asterisked, was probably inserted into Bābur's narrative somewhat later than the battle of Kānwa. Hence Bābur's pluperfect-tense "had indited". I am indebted to my husband for help in revising the difficult *Faḥ-nāma*; he has done it with consideration of the variants between the earlier English and the French translations. No doubt it could be dealt with more searchingly still by one well-versed in the Qorān and the Traditions, and thus able to explain others of its allusions. The italics denote Arabic passages in the original; many of these are from the Qorān, and in tracing them M. de Courteille's notes have been most useful to us.



*O Thou the Exalter of the pillars of Islām, Helper of thy faithful minister, Overthrower of the pedestals of idols, Overcomer of rebellious foes, Exterminator to the uttermost of the followers of darkness!*

*Lauds be to God the Lord of the worlds, and may the blessing of God be upon the best of His creatures Muḥammad, Lord of ghāzīs and champions of the Faith, and upon his companions, the pointers of the way, until the Day of judgment.*

The successive gifts of the Almighty are the cause of frequent praises and thanksgivings, and the number of these praises and thanksgivings is, in its turn, the cause of the constant succession of God's mercies. For every mercy a thanksgiving is due, and every thanksgiving is followed by a mercy. To render full thanks is beyond men's power; the mightiest are helpless to discharge their obligations. Above all, adequate thanks cannot be rendered for a benefit than which none is greater in the world and nothing is more blessed, in the world to come, to wit, victory over most powerful infidels and dominion over wealthiest heretics, "*these are the unbelievers, the wicked.*"<sup>1</sup> In the eyes of the judicious, no blessing can be greater than this. Thanks be to God! that this great blessing and mighty boon, which from the cradle until now has been the real object of this right-thinking mind (Bābur's), has now manifested itself by the graciousness of the King of the worlds; the Opener who dispenses his treasures without awaiting solicitation, hath opened them with a master-key before our victorious Nawāb (Bābur),<sup>2</sup> so that the names of our<sup>3</sup> conquering heroes have been emblazoned in the records of glorious *ghāzīs*. By the help of our victorious soldiers the standards of Islām have been raised to the highest pinnacles. The account of this auspicious fortune is as follows :—

Fol. 317.

<sup>1</sup> Qorān, cap. 80, last sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Shaikh Zain, in his version of the *Bābur-nāma*, styles Bābur Nawāb where there can be no doubt of the application of the title, *viz.* in describing Shāh Ṭahmāsp's gifts to him (mentioned by Bābur on f. 305). He uses the title also in the *farmān* of renunciation (f. 313b), but it does not appear in my text, "royal" (fortune) standing for it (*in loco* p. 555, l. 10).

<sup>3</sup> The possessive pronoun occurs several times in the Letter-of-victory. As there is no semblance of putting forward that letter as being Bābur's, the pronoun seems to imply "on our side".

(*b. Rānā Sangā and his forces.*)

When the flashing-swords of our Islām-guarded soldiers had illuminated the land of Hindūstān with rays of victory and conquest, as has been recorded in former letters-of-victory,<sup>1</sup> the Divine favour caused our standards to be upreared in the territories of Dihlī, Āgra, Jūn-pūr, Kharīd,<sup>2</sup> Bihār, *etc.*, when many chiefs, both pagans and Muḥammadans submitted to our generals and shewed sincere obedience to our fortunate Nawāb. But Rānā Sangā the pagan who in earlier times breathed submissive to the Nawāb,<sup>3</sup> now *was puffed up with pride and became of the number of unbelievers.*<sup>4</sup> Satan-like he threw back his head and collected an army of accursed heretics, thus gathering a rabble-rout of whom some wore the accursed torque (*ṭauq*), the *zīnār*,<sup>5</sup> on the neck, some had in the skirt the calamitous thorn of apostacy.<sup>6</sup> Previous to the rising in Hindūstān of the Sun of dominion and the emergence there of the light of the Shāhanshāh's Khalīfate [*i.e.* Bābur's] the authority of that execrated pagan (Sangā)—*at the Judgment Day he shall have no friend,*<sup>7</sup> was such that not one of all the exalted sovereigns of this wide realm, such as the Sulṭān of Dihlī, the Sulṭān of Gujrāt and the Sulṭān of Mandū, could cope with this evil-dispositioned one, without the help of other pagans; one and all they cajoled him and temporized with him; and he had this authority although the rājas and rāīs of high degree, who obeyed him in this battle, and the governors and commanders

Fol. 317b.

<sup>1</sup> The *Bābur-nāma* includes no other than Shaikh Zain's about Kanwā. Those here alluded to will be the announcements of success at Milwat, Pānīpat, Dibālpūr and perhaps elsewhere in Hindūstān.

<sup>2</sup> In Jūn-pūr (*Āyīn-i-akbarī*); Elliot & Dowson note (iv, 283-4) that it appears to have included, near Sikandarpūr, the country on both sides of the Gogra, and thence on that river's left bank down to the Ganges.

<sup>3</sup> That the word Nawāb here refers to Bābur and not to his lieutenants, is shewn by his mention (f. 278) of Sangā's messages to himself.

<sup>4</sup> Qorān, cap. 2, v. 32. The passage quoted is part of a description of Satan, hence mention of Satan in Shaikh Zain's next sentence.

<sup>5</sup> The brahminical thread.

<sup>6</sup> *khār-i-miḥnat-i-irtidād dar dāman*. This Erskine renders by "who fixed thorns from the pangs of apostacy in the hem of their garments" (p. 360). Several good MSS. have *khār*, thorn, but Ilminsky has *Ar. khimār*, cymar, instead (p. 411). De Courteille renders the passage by "*portent au pan de leurs habits la marque douloureuse de l'apostasie*" (ii, 290). To read *khimār*, cymar (scarf), would serve, as a scarf is part of some Hindū costumes.

<sup>7</sup> Qorān, cap. 69, v. 35.

who were amongst his followers in this conflict, had not obeyed him in any earlier fight or, out of regard to their own dignity, been friendly with him. Infidel standards dominated some 200 towns in the territories of Islām; in them mosques and shrines fell into ruin; from them the wives and children of the Faithful were carried away captive. So greatly had his forces grown that, according to the Hindū calculation by which one *lak* of revenue should yield 100 horsemen, and one *krūr* of revenue, 10,000 horsemen, the territories subject to the Pagan (Sangā) yielding 10 *krūrs*, should yield him 100,000 horse. Many noted pagans who hitherto had not helped him in battle, now swelled his ranks out of hostility to the people of Islām. Ten powerful chiefs, each the leader of a pagan host, uprose in rebellion, as smoke rises, and linked themselves, as though enchaind, to that perverse one (Sangā); and this infidel decade who, unlike the blessed ten,<sup>1</sup> uplifted misery-freighted standards which *denounce unto them excruciating punishment*,<sup>2</sup> had many dependants, and troops, and wide-extended lands. As, for instance, Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn<sup>3</sup> had territory yielding 30,000 horse, Rāwal Ūdai Singh of Bāgar had 12,000, Medinī Rāi had 12,000, Ḥasan Khān of Mīwāt had 12,000, Bār-mal of Īdr had 4,000, Narpāt Hāra had 7,000, Satrvī of Kach (Cutch) had 6,000, Dharm-deo had 4,000, Bīr-sing-deo had 4,000, and Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sl. Sikandar, to whom, though he possessed neither district nor *pargana*, 10,000 horse had gathered in hope of his attaining supremacy. Thus, according to the calculation of Hind, 201,000 was the total of those sundered from salvation. In brief, that haughty pagan, inwardly blind, and hardened of

Fol. 318.

<sup>1</sup> M. Defrémery, when reviewing the French translation of the B.N. (*Journal des Savans* 1873), points out (p. 18) that it makes no mention of the "blessed ten". Erskine mentions them but without explanation. They are the *'asharāh mubashsharah*, the decade of followers of Muḥammad who "received good tidings", and whose certain entry into Paradise he foretold.

<sup>2</sup> Qorān, cap. 3, v. 20. M. Defrémery reads Shaikh Zain to mean that these words of the Qorān were on the infidel standards, but it would be simpler to read Shaikh Zain as meaning that the infidel insignia on the standards "denounce punishment" on their users.

<sup>3</sup> He seems to have been a Rājput convert to Muḥammadanism who changed his Hindī name Silhādī for what Bābur writes. His son married Sangā's daughter; his fiefs were Raisin and Sārangpūr; he deserted to Bābur in the battle of Kānwa. (Cf. Erskine's *History of India* i, 471 note; *Mirāt-i-sikandarī*, Bayley's trs. s.n.; *Akbar-nāma*, H.B.'s trs. i, 261; Tod's *Rājastān* cap. Mewār.)

heart, having joined with other pagans, dark-fated and doomed to perdition, advanced to contend with the followers of Islām and to destroy the foundations of the law of the Prince of Men (Muḥammad), on whom be God's blessing! The protagonists of the royal forces fell, like divine destiny, on that one-eyed Dajjāl<sup>1</sup> who, to understanding men, shewed the truth of the saying, *When Fate arrives, the eye becomes blind*, and, setting before their eyes the scripture which saith, *Whosoever striveth to promote the true religion, striveth for the good of his own soul*,<sup>2</sup> they acted on the precept to which obedience is due, *Fight against infidels and hypocrites*.

Fol. 318b.

(c. *Military movements*.)

(*March 17th, 1527*) On Saturday the 13th day of the second Jumāda of the date 933, a day blessed by the words, *God hath blessed your Saturday*, the army of Islām was encamped near the village of Kānwa, a dependency of Bīāna, hard by a hill which was 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) from the enemies of the Faith. When those accursed infidel foes of Muḥammad's religion heard the reverberation of the armies of Islām, they arrayed their ill-starred forces and moved forward with one heart, relying on their mountain-like, demon-shaped elephants, as had relied the Lords of the Elephant<sup>3</sup> who went to overthrow the sanctuary (*ka'ba*) of Islām.

<sup>1</sup> "Dejāl or al Masih al Dajjal, the false or lying Messiah, is the Muhammadan Anti-christ. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters K.F.R. signifying Kafer, or Infidel. He is to appear in the latter days riding on an ass, and will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispahān, and will continue on the Earth 40 days, of which one will be equal to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the rest will be common days. He is to lay waste all places, but will not enter Mekka or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels. He is finally to be slain at the gate of Lud by Jesus, for whom the Musalmans profess great veneration, calling him the breath or spirit of God.—See Sale's *Introductory Discourse to the Koran*" [Erskine].

<sup>2</sup> Qorān, cap. 29, v. 5.

<sup>3</sup> "This alludes to the defeat of [an Abyssinian Christian] Abraha the prince of Yemen who [in the year of Muḥammad's birth] marched his army and some elephants to destroy the *ka'ba* of Makka. 'The Meccans,' says Sale, 'at the appearance of so considerable a host, retired to the neighbouring mountains, being unable to defend their city or temple. But God himself undertook the defence of both. For when Abraha drew near to Mecca, and would have entered it, the elephant on which he rode, which was a very large one and named Maḥmūd, refused to advance any nigher to the town, but knelt down whenever they endeavoured to force him that way, though he would rise and march briskly enough if they turned him towards any other quarter; and while matters were in this posture, on a sudden a large flock of birds, like swallows, came flying from the sea-coast, every-one of which carried three stones,

“ Having these elephants, the wretched Hindus  
 Became proud, like the Lords of the Elephant ;  
 Yet were they odious and vile as is the evening of death,  
 Blacker <sup>1</sup> than night, outnumbering the stars,  
 All such as fire is <sup>2</sup> but their heads upraised  
 In hate, as rises its smoke in the azure sky,  
 Ant-like they come from right and from left,  
 Thousands and thousands of horse and foot.”

Fol. 319. They advanced towards the victorious encampment, intending to give battle. The holy warriors of Islām, trees in the garden of valour, moved forward in ranks straight as serried pines and, like pines uplift their crests to heaven, uplifting their helmet-crests which shone even as shine the hearts of those *that strive in the way of the Lord*; their array was like Alexander's iron-wall,<sup>3</sup> and, as is the way of the Prophet's Law, straight and firm and strong, *as though they were a well-compacted building*;<sup>4</sup> and they became fortunate and successful in accordance with the saying, *They are directed by their Lord, and they shall prosper*.<sup>5</sup>

In that array no rent was frayed by timid souls ;  
 Firm was it as the Shāhanshāh's resolve, strong as the Faith ;  
 Their standards brushed against the sky ;  
*Verily we have granted thee certain victory*.<sup>6</sup>

Obeying the cautions of prudence, we imitated the *ghāzīs* of Rūm<sup>7</sup> by posting matchlockmen (*tufanchiān*) and cannoneers (*ra'd-andāzān*) along the line of carts which were chained to one another in front of us ; in fact, Islām's army was so arrayed and so steadfast that primal Intelligence<sup>8</sup> and the firmament (*'aql-i-pīr u charakh-i-aṣīr*) applauded the marshalling thereof. To effect this arrangement and organization, Nizāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa, the pillar of the Imperial fortune, exerted himself

one in each foot and one in its bill ; and these stones they threw down upon the heads of Abraha's men, certainly killing every one they struck.' The rest were swept away by a flood or perished by a plague, Abraha alone reaching Senaa, where he also died" [Erskine]. The above is taken from Sale's note to the 105 chapter of the Qorān, entitled "the Elephant".

<sup>1</sup> Presumably black by reason of their dark large mass.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably, devouring as fire.

<sup>3</sup> This is 50 m. long and blocked the narrow pass of the Caspian Iron-gates. It ends south of the Russian town of Dar-band, on the west shore of the Caspian. Erskine states that it was erected to repress the invasions of Yajuj and Mujuj (Gog and Magog).

<sup>4</sup> Qorān, cap. lxi, v. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Qorān, cap. ii, v. 4. Erskine appears to quote another verse.

<sup>6</sup> Qorān, cap. xlviii, v. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Index s. n.

<sup>8</sup> *Khīrad*, Intelligence or the first Intelligence, was supposed to be the guardian of the empyreal heaven (Erskine).

strenuously ; his efforts were in accord with Destiny, and were approved by his sovereign's luminous judgment.

(d. *Commanders of the centre.*)

His Majesty's post was in the centre. In the right-hand of the centre were stationed the illustrious and most upright brother, the beloved friend of Destiny, the favoured of Him whose aid is entreated (*i.e.* God), Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān,<sup>1</sup>—the illustrious son, accepted in the sight of the revered Allāh, Sulaimān Shāh,<sup>2</sup>—the reservoir of sanctity, the way-shower, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn (Perfect-in-the Faith) Dost-i-khāwand,—the trusted of the sulṭānate, the abider near the sublime threshold, the close companion, the cream of associates, Kamālu'd-dīn Yūnas-i-'alī,—the pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in friendship, Jalālu'd-dīn (Glory-of-the-Faith) Shāh Manṣūr *Barlās*,—the pillar of royal retainers, most excellent of servants, Niẓāmu'd-dīn (Upholder-of-the-Faith) Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān*,—the pillars of royal retainers, the sincere in fidelity, Shihābu'd-dīn (Meteor-of-the-Faith) 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian and Niẓāmu'd-dīn Dost Lord-of-the-Gate. Fol. 319b.

In the left-hand of the centre took each his post, the reservoir of sovereignty, ally of the Khalifate, object of royal favour, Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-dīn 'Ālam Khān son of Sl. Bahlūl *Lūdī*,—the intimate of illustrious Majesty, the high priest (*dastūr*) of *ṣadrs* amongst men, the refuge of all people, the pillar of Islām, Shaikh Zain of Khawāf,<sup>3</sup>—the pillar of the nobility, Kamālu'd-dīn Muḥibb-i-'alī, son of the intimate counsellor named above (*i.e.* Khalifa),—the pillar of royal retainers, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Tardī Beg brother of Qūj (son of) Aḥmad, whom God hath taken into His mercy,—Shir-afgan son of the above-named Qūj Beg deceased,—the pillar of great ones, the mighty khān, Ārāish Khān,<sup>4</sup>—the wazīr, greatest Fol. 320.

<sup>1</sup> Chīn-tīmūr *Chīngīz-khānid Chaghatāi* is called Bābur's brother because a (maternal-) cousin of Bābur's own generation, their last common ancestor being Yūnas Khān.

<sup>2</sup> Sulaimān *Tīmūrid Mīrān-shāhī* is called Bābur's son because his father was of Bābur's generation, their last common ancestor being Sl. Abū-sa'id Mīrzā. He was 13 years old and, through Shāh Begīm, hereditary shāh of Badakhshān.

<sup>3</sup> The Shaikh was able, it would appear, to see himself as others saw him, since the above description of him is his own. It is confirmed by Abū'l-faḍl and Badāyūnī's accounts of his attainments.

<sup>4</sup> The honourable post given to this amir of Hind is likely to be due to his loyalty to Bābur.

of wazīrs amongst men, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain,—and a number of other attendants at Court (*dīwanīān*).

(e. *Commanders of the right wing.*)

In the right wing was the exalted son, honourable and fortunate, the befriended of Destiny, the Star of the Sign of sovereignty and success, Sun of the sphere of the Khalifate, lauded of slave and free, Muḥammad Humāyūn Bahādur. On that exalted prince's right hand there were, one whose rank approximates to royalty and who is distinguished by the favour of the royal giver of gifts, Qāsīm-i-ḥusain Sulṭān,—the pillar of the nobility Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad-i-yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī*,<sup>1</sup>—the trusted of royalty, most excellent of servants, Jalālu'd-dīn Hindū Beg *qūchīn*,<sup>2</sup>—the trusted of royalty, perfect in loyalty, Jalālu'd-dīn Khusrau Kūkūldāsh,—the trusted of royalty, Qawām (var. Qiyām) Beg *Aūrdū-shāh*,—the pillar of royal retainers, of perfect sincerity, Walī *Qarā-qūzī* the treasurer,<sup>3</sup>—the pillar of royal retainers, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Pīr-qulī of Sīstān,—the pillar of wazīrs, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn *pahlawān* (champion) of Badakhshān,—the pillar of royal retainers, 'Abdu'l-shakūr,—the pillar of the nobility, most excellent of servants, the envoy from 'Irāq Sulaimān Āqā,—and Ḥusain Āqā the envoy from Sīstān. On the victory-crowned left of the fortunate son already named there were, the sayyid of lofty birth, of the family of Murṭiẓā ('Alī), Mīr Hama (or Hāma),—the pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in sincerity, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammadī Kūkūldāsh and Niẓāmu'd-dīn Khwājagī Asad *jān-dār*.<sup>4</sup> In the right wing

Fol. 320a.

<sup>1</sup> Aḥmad may be a nephew of Yūsuf of the same agnomen (Index *s.nn.*).

<sup>2</sup> I have not discovered the name of this old servant or the meaning of his seeming-sobriquet, Hindū. As a *qūchīn* he will have been a Mughūl or Turk. The circumstance of his service with a son of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* (down to 905 A.H.) makes it possible that he drew his name in his youth from the tract s.e. of Maḥmūd's Ḥiṣār territory which has been known as Little Hind (Index *s.n.* Hind). This is however conjecture merely. Another suggestion is that as *hindū* can mean *black*, it may stand for the common *qarā* of the Turks e.g. Qarā Barlās, Black Barlās.

<sup>3</sup> I am uncertain whether Qarā-qūzī is the name of a place, or the jesting sobriquet of more than one meaning it can be.

<sup>4</sup> Soul-full, animated; var. Ḥai. MS. *khān-dār*. No agnomen is used for Asad by Bābur. The *Akbar-nāma* varies to *jāmadār*, wardrobe-keeper, cup-holder (*Bib. Ind.* ed. i, 107), and Firīshṭa to *sar-jāmadār*, head wardrobe-keeper (lith. ed. p. 209 top). It would be surprising to find such an official sent as envoy to 'Irāq, as Asad was both before and after he fought at Kānwa.

there were, of the amīrs of Hind,—the pillar of the State, the Khān-of-Khāns, Dilāwar Khān,<sup>1</sup>—the pillar of the nobility, Malik Dād *Kararānī*,—and the pillar of the nobility, the Shaikh-of-shaikhs, Shaikh Gūran, each standing in his appointed place.

(*f. Commanders of the left wing.*)

In the left wing of the armies of Islām there extended their ranks,—the lord of lofty lineage, the refuge of those in authority, the ornament of the family of *Ta Ha* and *Ya Sin*,<sup>2</sup> the model for the descendants of the prince of ambassadors (Muḥammad), Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja,—the exalted and fortunate brother, the well-regarded of his Majesty, Muḥammad Sl. Mīrẓā,<sup>3</sup>—the personage approximating to royalty, the descended of monarchs, ‘Adil Sulṭān son of Mahdī Sulṭān,<sup>4</sup>—the trusted in the State, perfect in attachment, ‘Abdu’-‘azīz Master of the Horse,—the trusted in the State, the pure in friendship, Shamsu’d-dīn Muḥammad ‘Ali *Jang-jang*,<sup>5</sup>—the pillar of royal retainers, Jalālu’d-dīn Qūtlūq-qadam *qarāwal* (scout),—the pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in sincerity, Jalālu’d-dīn Shāh Ḥusain *yārāgī Mughūl Ghānchī* (?),<sup>6</sup>—and Nizāmud-dīn Jān-i-muḥammad *Beg Ātāka*.

Of amīrs of Hind there were in this division, the scions of sulṭāns, Kamāl Khān and Jamāl Khān sons of the Sl. ‘Alā’ud-dīn Fol. 321. above-mentioned,—the most excellent officer ‘Alī Khān Shaikh-zāda of Farmūl,—and the pillar of the nobility, Nizām Khān of Bīāna.

<sup>1</sup> son of Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khāil Lūdī*.

<sup>2</sup> These are the titles of the 20th and 36th chapters of the Qorān; Sale offers conjectural explanations of them. The “family” is Muḥammad’s.

<sup>3</sup> a Bāi-qarā Tīmūrid of Bābur’s generation, their last common ancestor being Tīmūr himself.

<sup>4</sup> an Aūzbeq who married a daughter of Sl. Ḥusain M. *Bāi-qarā*.

<sup>5</sup> It has been pointed out to me that there is a Chinese title of nobility *Yün-wāng*, and that it may be behind the words *jang-jang*. Though the suggestion appears to me improbable, looking to the record of Bābur’s officer, to the prevalence of sobriquets amongst his people, and to what would be the sporadic appearance of a Chinese title or even class-name borne by a single man amongst them, I add this suggestion to those of my note on the meaning of the words (Index *s.n.* Muh. ‘Ali). The title *jūn-wāng* occurs in Dr. Denison Ross’ *Three MSS. from Kāshghar*, p. 5, v. 5 and translator’s preface, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *f.* 266 and *f.* 299. *Yārāgī* may be the name of his office, (from *yārāq*) and mean provisioner of arms or food or other military requirements.



*(g. The flanking parties.)*

For the flank-movement (*tūlghāma*) of the right wing there were posted two of the most trusted of the household retainers, Tardika<sup>1</sup> and Malik Qāsīm the brother of Bābā Qashqa, with a body of Mughūls; for the flank-movement of the left wing were the two trusted chiefs Mūmin Ātāka and Rustam *Turkmān*, leading a body of special troops.

*(h. The Chief of the Staff.)*

The pillar of royal retainers, the perfect in loyalty, the cream of privy-counsellors, Niẓāmu'd-dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad *Bakhshz*, after posting the *ghāzīs* of Islām, came to receive the royal commands. He despatched adjutants (*tawāchī*) and messengers (*yasāwal*) in various directions to convey imperative orders concerning the marshalling of the troops to the great sultāns and amīrs. And when the Commanders had taken up their positions, an imperative order was given that none should quit his post or, uncommanded, stretch forth his arm to fight.

*(i. The battle.)*

One watch<sup>2</sup> of the afore-mentioned day had elapsed when the opposing forces approached each other and the battle began. As Light opposes Darkness, so did the centres of the two armies oppose one another. Fighting began on the right and left wings, such fighting as shook the Earth and filled highest Heaven with clangour.

The left wing of the ill-fated pagans advanced against the right wing of the Faith-garbed troops of Islām and charged down on Khusrau Kūkūldāsh and Bābā Qashqa's brother Malik Qāsīm. The most glorious and most upright brother Chīn-tīmūr Sulṭān, obeying orders, went to reinforce them and, engaging in the conflict with bold attack, bore the pagans back almost to the rear of their centre. Guerdon was made for the brother's glorious fame.<sup>3</sup> The marvel of the Age, Muṣṭafa of Rūm, had his post in the centre (of the right wing) where was the exalted son, upright and fortunate, the object of the favourable regard of

<sup>1</sup> or, Tardī *yakka*, the champion, Gr. *monomachus* (A.N. trs. i, 107 n.).

<sup>2</sup> var. 1 watch and 2 *g'harīs*; the time will have been between 9 and 10 a.m.

<sup>3</sup> *jūldū ba nām ai 'azīz-i-barādar shud*, a phrase not easy to translate.

Creative Majesty (*i.e.* God), the one *distinguished by the particular grace of the mighty Sovereign who commands to do and not to do* (*i.e.* Bābur), Muḥammad Humāyūn Bahādur. This Muṣṭafa of Rūm had the carts (*arābahā*)<sup>1</sup> brought forward and broke the ranks of pagans with matchlock and culverin dark like their hearts (?).<sup>2</sup> In the thick of the fight, the most glorious brother Qāsīm-i-ḥusain Sulṭān and the pillars of royal retainers, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad-i-yūsuf and Qawām Beg, obeying orders, hastened to their help. And since band after band of pagan troops followed each other to help their men, so we, in our turn, sent the trusted in the State, the glory of the Faith, Hīndū Beg, and, after him, the pillars of the nobility, Muḥammadi Kūkūldāsh and Khwājagī Asad *jān-dār*, and, after them, the trusted in the State, the trustworthy in the resplendent Court, the most confided-in of nobles, the elect of confidential servants, Yūnas-i-'alī, together with the pillar of the nobility, the perfect in friendship, Shāh Maṣṣūr *Barlās* and the pillar of the grandees, the pure in fidelity, 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian, and after these, the pillar of the nobles, Dost the Lord-of-the-Gate, and Muḥammad Khalīl the master-gelder (*akḥta-begī*).<sup>3</sup>

Fol. 322.

The pagan right wing made repeated and desperate attack on the left wing of the army of Islām, falling furiously on the holy warriors, possessors of salvation, but each time was made to turn back or, smitten with the arrows of victory, was *made to descend into Hell, the house of perdition; they shall be thrown to burn therein, and an unhappy dwelling shall it be.*<sup>4</sup> Then the trusty amongst the nobles, Mūmin Ātāka and Rustam *Turkmān* betook themselves to the rear<sup>5</sup> of the host of darkened pagans; and to help them were sent the Commanders Khwāja Maḥmūd and 'Alī Ātāka, servants of him who amongst the royal retainers is near the throne, the trusted of the Sulṭānate, Nizāmu'd-din 'Alī Khalifa.

<sup>1</sup> *viz.* those chained together as a defence and probably also those conveying the culverins.

<sup>2</sup> The comparison may be between the darkening smoke of the fire-arms and the heresy darkening pagan hearts.

<sup>3</sup> There appears to be a distinction of title between the *akḥta-begī* and the *mir-akḥwūr* (master of the horse).

<sup>4</sup> Qorān, cap. 14, v. 33.

<sup>5</sup> These two men were in one of the flanking-parties.

Our high-born brother<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Sī. Mīrzā, and the representative of royal dignity, 'Ādil Sulṭān, and the trusted in the State, the strengthener of the Faith, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, the Master of the Horse, and the glory of the Faith, Qūtlūq-qadam *qarāwal*, and the meteor of the Faith, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, and the pillar of royal retainers, Shāh Ḥusain *yāragī Mughūl Ghānchī* (?) stretched out the arm to fight and stood firm. To support them we sent the *Dastūr*, the highest of wazīrs, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain with a body of *dīwānīs*.<sup>2</sup> Every holy warrior was eager to show his zeal, entering the fight with desperate joy as if approving the verse, *Say, Do you expect any other should befall us than one of the two most excellent things, victory or martyrdom?*<sup>3</sup> and, with display of life-devotion, uplifted the standard of life-sacrifice.

As the conflict and battle lasted long, an imperative order was issued that the special royal corps (*tābīnān-i-khāṣa-i-pādshāhī*)<sup>4</sup> who, heroes of one hue,<sup>5</sup> were standing, like tigers enchained, behind the carts,<sup>6</sup> should go out on the right and the left of the centre,<sup>7</sup> leaving the matchlockmen's post in-between, and join battle on both sides. As the True Dawn emerges from its cleft in the horizon, so they emerged from behind the carts; they poured a ruddy crepuscule of the blood of those ill-fated pagans on the nadir of the Heavens, that battle-field; they made fall from the firmament of existence many heads of the headstrong, as stars fall from the firmament of heaven. The marvel of the Age, Ustād 'Alī-qulī, who with his own appurtenances stood in front of the centre, did deeds of valour, discharging against the iron-mantled forts of the infidels<sup>8</sup> stones of such size that were (one) put into a scale of the Balance in which actions are weighed, that *scale shall be heavy with good works and he*

<sup>1</sup> This phrase "our brother" would support the view that Shaikh Zain wrote as for Bābur, if there were not, on the other hand, mention of Bābur as His Majesty, and the precious royal soul.

<sup>2</sup> *dīwānīān* here may mean those associated with the wazīr in his duties: and not those attending at Court.

<sup>3</sup> Qorān, cap. I4, v. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Index *s.n.* *chūhra* (a brave).

<sup>5</sup> *hisabrān-i-beshā yakrangī*, literally, forest-tigers (or, lions) of one hue.

<sup>6</sup> There may be reference here to the chains used to connect the carts into a defence.

<sup>7</sup> The braves of the *khāṣa tābīn* were part of Bābur's own centre.

<sup>8</sup> perhaps the cataphract elephants; perhaps the men in mail.

(*i.e.* its owner) *shall lead a pleasing life*<sup>1</sup>; and were such stones discharged against a hill, broad of base and high of summit, it would *become like carded wool*.<sup>2</sup> Such stones Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharged at the iron-clad fortress of the pagan ranks and by this discharge of stones, and abundance of culverins and matchlocks (?)<sup>3</sup> destroyed many of the builded bodies of the pagans. The matchlockmen of the royal centre, in obedience to orders, going from behind the carts into the midst of the battle, each one of them made many a pagan taste of the poison of death. The foot-soldiers, going into a most dangerous place, made their names to be blazoned amongst those of the forest-tigers (*i.e.* heroes) of valour and the champions in the field of manly deeds. Just at this time came an order from his Majesty the Khāqān that the carts of the centre should be advanced; and the gracious royal soul (*i.e.* Bābur) moved towards the pagan soldiers, Victory and Fortune on his right, Prestige and Conquest on his left. On witnessing this event, the victorious troops followed from all sides; the whole surging ocean of the army rose in mighty waves; the courage of all the crocodiles<sup>4</sup> of that ocean was manifested by the strength of their deeds; an obscuring cloud of dust o'erspread the sky (?). The dust that gathered over the battle-field was traversed by the lightning-flashes of the sword; the Sun's face was shorn of light as is a mirror's back; the striker and the struck, the victor and the vanquished were commingled, all distinction between them lost. The Wizard of Time produced such a night that its only planets were arrows,<sup>5</sup> its only constellations of fixed stars were the steadfast squadrons.

Fol. 323.

Upon that day of battle sank and rose  
 Blood to the Fish and dust-clouds to the Moon,  
 While through the horse-hoofs on that spacious plain,  
 One Earth flew up to make another Heaven.<sup>6</sup>

Fol. 323b.

<sup>1</sup> Qorān, cap. 101, v. 54.

<sup>2</sup> Qorān, cap. 101, v. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *dā andākhian-i-sang u zarb-san tufak bisyāri*. As Bābur does not in any place mention metal missiles, it seems safest to translate *sang* by its plain meaning of *stone*.

<sup>4</sup> Also, metaphorically, swords.

<sup>5</sup> *īr*. My husband thinks there is a play upon the two meanings of this word, arrow and the planet Mercury; so too in the next sentence, that there may be allusion in the *kuākīb ḡawābit* to the constellation Pegasus, opposed to Bābur's squadrons of horse.

<sup>6</sup> The Fish mentioned in this verse is the one pictured by Muḥammadan cosmogony as supporting the Earth. The violence of the fray is illustrated by supposing that of

At the moment when the holy warriors were heedlessly flinging away their lives, they heard a secret voice say, *Be not dismayed, neither be grieved, for, if ye believe, ye shall be exalted above the unbelievers,*<sup>1</sup> and from the infallible Informer heard the joyful words, *Assistance is from God, and a speedy victory! And do thou bear glad tidings to true believers.*<sup>2</sup> Then they fought with such delight that the plaudits of the saints of the Holy Assembly reached them and the angels from near the Throne, fluttered round their heads like moths. Between the first and second Prayers, there was such blaze of combat that the flames thereof raised standards above the heavens, and the right and left of the army of Islām rolled back the left and right of the doomed infidels in one mass upon their centre.

When signs were manifest of the victory of the Strivers and of the up-rearing of the standards of Islām, those accursed infidels and wicked unbelievers remained for one hour confounded. At length, their hearts abandoning life, they fell upon the right and left of our centre. Their attack on the left was the more vigorous and there they approached furthest, but the holy warriors, their minds set on the reward, planted shoots (*nihāl*) of arrows in the field of the breast of each one of them, and, such being their gloomy fate, overthrew them. In this state of affairs, the breezes of victory and fortune blew over the meadow of our happy Nawāb, and brought the good news, *Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory.*<sup>3</sup> And Victory the beautiful woman (*shāhid*) whose world-adornment of waving tresses was embellished by *God will aid you with a mighty aid,*<sup>4</sup> bestowed on us the good fortune that had been hidden behind a veil, and made it a reality. The absurd (*bāṭil*) Hindūs, knowing their position perilous, *dispersed like carded wool before the wind, and like moths scattered abroad.*<sup>4a</sup> Many fell dead on the field of battle; others, desisting from fighting, fled to the desert of exile and

Fol. 324.

Earth's seven climes one rose to Heaven in dust, thus giving Heaven eight. The verse is from Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma*, [Turner-Macan's ed. i, 222]. The translation of it is Warner's, [ii, 15 and n.]. I am indebted for the information given in this note to my husband's long search in the *Shāh-nāmā*.

<sup>1</sup> Qorān, cap. 3, v. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Qorān, cap. 61, v. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Qorān, cap. 48, v. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Qorān, cap. 48, v. 3.

became the food of crows and kites. Mounds were made of the bodies of the slain, pillars of their heads.

(j. *Hindū chiefs killed in the battle.*)

Ḥasan Khān of Miwāt was enrolled in the list of the dead by the force of a matchlock (*ḡarb-i-tufak*); most of those headstrong chiefs of tribes were slain likewise, and ended their days by arrow and matchlock (*tīr u tufak*). Of their number was Rāwāl Ūdī Singh of Bāgar,<sup>1</sup> ruler (*wālī*) of the Dungarpūr country, who had 12,000 horse, Rāi Chandrabān *Chūhān* who had 4,000 horse, Bhūpat Rāo son of that Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn already mentioned, who was lord of Chandīrī and had 6,000 horse, Mānik-chand *Chūhān* and Dilpat Rāo who had each 4,000 horse, Kankū (or Gangū) and Karm Singh and Dankūsī (?)<sup>2</sup> who had each 3,000 horse, and a number of others, each one of whom was leader of a great command, a splendid and magnificent chieftain. All these trod the road to Hell, removing from this house of clay to the pit of perdition. The enemy's country (*dāru'l-ḡarb*) was full, as Hell is full, of wounded who had died on the road. The lowest pit was gorged with miscreants who had surrendered their souls to the lord of Hell. In whatever direction one from the army of Islām hastened, he found everywhere a self-willed one dead; whatever march the illustrious camp made in the wake of the fugitives, it found no foot-space without its prostrate foe.

Fol. 324b.

All the Hindūs slain, abject (*khwār*, var. *sār*) and mean,  
 By matchlock-stones, like the Elephants' lords,<sup>3</sup>  
 Many hills of their bodies were seen,  
 And from each hill a fount of running blood.  
 Dreading the arrows of (our) splendid ranks,  
 Passed<sup>4</sup> they in fight to each waste and hill.

<sup>1a</sup> [see p. 572] *farāsh*. De Courteille, reading *fīrāsh*, translates this metaphor by *comme un lit lorsqu'il est défait*. He refers to Qorān, cap. 101, v. 3. A better metaphor for the breaking up of an army than that of moths scattering, one allowed by the word *farāsh*, but possibly not by Muḥammad, is *vanished like bubbles on wine*.

<sup>1</sup> Bāgar is an old name for Dungarpūr and Bānswāra [*G. of I.* vi, 408 s. n. Bānswāra].

<sup>2</sup> *sic*, Hai. MS. and may be so read in I.O. 217 f. 220b; Erskine writes Bikersi (p. 367) and notes the variant Nagersi; Ilminsky (p. 421) N:kr̄sī; de Courteille (ii, 307) Niguersi.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. f. 318b, and note, where it is seen that the stones which killed the lords of the Elephants were so small as to be carried in the bill of a bird like a swallow. Were such stones used in matchlocks in Bābur's day?

<sup>4</sup> *ḡuzāran*, var. *ḡurasān*, caused to flee and hogs (Erskine notes the double-meaning).

They turn their backs. The command of God is to be performed. Now praise be to God, All-hearing and All-wise, for victory is from God alone, the Mighty, the Wise.<sup>1</sup> Written Jumāda II. 25th 933 (A.H.—March 29th 1527 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

## MINOR SEQUELS OF VICTORY.

(a. *Bābur assumes the title of Ghāzī.*)

After this success *Ghāzī* (Victor in a Holy-war) was written amongst the royal titles.

<sup>1</sup> This passage, entered in some MSS. as if verse, is made up of *Qorān*, cap. 17, v. 49, cap. 33, v. 38, and cap. 3, v. 122.

<sup>2</sup> As the day of battle was Jumāda II. 13th (March 16th), the *Fatḥ-nāma* was ready and dated twelve days after that battle. It was started for Kābul on Rajab 9th (April 11th). Something may be said here appropriately about the surmise contained in Dr. Ilminsky's Preface and M. de Courteille's note to *Mémoires* ii, 443 and 450, to the effect that Bābur wrote a plain account of the battle of Kanwā and for this in his narrative substituted Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma*, and that the plain account has been preserved in Kehr's *Bābur-nāma* volume [whence Ilminsky reproduced it, it was translated by M. de Courteille and became known as a "Fragment" of Bāburiana]. Almost certainly both scholars would have judged adversely of their suggestion by the light of to-day's easier research. The following considerations making against its value, may be set down :—

(1) There is no sign that Bābur ever wrote a plain account of the battle or any account of it. There is against his doing so his statement that he inserts Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma* because it gives particulars. If he had written any account, it would be found preceding the *Fatḥ-nāma*, as his account of his renunciation of wine precedes Shaikh Zain's *Farmān* announcing the act.

(2) Moreover, the "Fragment" cannot be described as a plain account such as would harmonize with Bābur's style ; it is in truth highly rhetorical, though less so as Shaikh Zain's.

(3) The "Fragment" begins with a quotation from the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 310b and n.), skips a good deal of Bābur's matter preliminary to the battle, and passes on with what there can be no doubt is a translation in inferior Turkī of the *Akbar-nāma* account.

(4) The whole of the extra matter is seen to be continuous and not fragmentary, if it is collated with the chapter in which Abū'l-faẓl describes the battle, its sequel of events, the death, character, attainments, and Court of Bābur. Down to the death, it is changed to the first person so as to make Bābur seem to write it. The probable concocter of it is Jahāngīr.

(5) If the Fragment were Bābur's composition, where was it when 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translated the *Bābur-nāma* in 998 A.H.—1590 A.D. ; where too did Abū'l-faẓl find it to reproduce in the *Akbar-nāma* ?

(6) The source of Abū'l-faẓl's information seems without doubt to be Bābur's own narrative and Shaikh Zain's *Fatḥ-nāma*. There are many significant resemblances between the two rhetoricians' metaphors and details selected.

(7) A good deal might be said of the dissimilarities between Bābur's diction and that of the "Fragment". But this is needless in face of the larger and more circumstantial objections already mentioned.

(For a fuller account of the "Fragment" see *JRAS.* Jan. 1906 pp. 81, 85 and 1908 p. 75 ff.)

Below the titles (*tughrā*)<sup>1</sup> entered on the *Fath-nāma*, I wrote the following quatrain :—<sup>2</sup>

For Islām's sake, I wandered in the wilds,  
Prepared for war with pagans and Hindūs,  
Resolved myself to meet the martyr's death.  
Thanks be to God ! a *ghāzī* I became.

Fol. 325.

(*b. Chronograms of the victory.*)

Shaikh Zain had found (*tāpīb aīdī*) the words *Fath-i-pādshāh-i-islām*<sup>3</sup> (Victory of the Pādshāh of the Faith) to be a chronogram of the victory. Mīr Gesū, one of the people come from Kābul, had also found these same words to be a chronogram, had composed them in a quatrain and sent this to me. It was a coincidence that Shaikh Zain and Mīr Gesū should bring forward precisely the same words in the quatrains they composed to embellish their discoveries.<sup>4</sup> Once before when Shaikh Zain found the date of the victory at Dībālpūr in the words *Wasat-i-shahr Rabī'ul-awwal*<sup>5</sup> (Middle of the month Rabī' I.), Mīr Gesū had found it in the very same words.

## HISTORICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED.

(*a. After the victory.*)

The foes beaten, we hurried them off, dismounting one after another. The Pagan's encirclement<sup>6</sup> may have been 2 *kurohs*

<sup>1</sup> *Tughrā* means an imperial signature also, but would Bābur sign Shaikh Zain's *Fath-i-nāma*? His autograph verse at the end of the *Rāmpūr Dīwān* has his signature following it. He is likely to have signed this verse. Cf. App. Q. [Erskine notes that titles were written on the back of despatches, an unlikely place for the quatrain, one surmises.]

<sup>2</sup> This is in the *Rāmpūr dīwān* (E. D. R. Plate 17). Dr. E. Denison Ross points out (p. 17 n.) that in the 2nd line the Hai. Codex varies from the *Dīwān*. The MS. is wrong ; it contains many inaccuracies in the latter part of the Hindūstān section, perhaps due to a change of scribe.

<sup>3</sup> These words by *abjad* yield 933. From Bābur's use of the pluperfect tense, I think it may be inferred that (my) Sections *a* and *b* are an attachment to the *Fath-nāma*, entered with it at a somewhat later date.

<sup>4</sup> My translation of this puzzling sentence is tentative only.

<sup>5</sup> This statement shews that the Dībālpūr affair occurred in one of the B. N. gaps, and in 930 AH. The words make 330 by *abjad*. It may be noted here that on f. 312b and notes there are remarks concerning whether Bābur's remission of the *tamghā* was contingent on his winning at Kānwa. If the remission had been delayed until his victory was won, it would have found fitting mention with the other sequels of victory chronicled above ; as it is not with these sequels, it may be accepted as an absolute remission, proclaimed before the fight. The point was a little uncertain owing to the seemingly somewhat deferred insertion in Bābur's narrative of Shaikh Zain's *Farmān*.

<sup>6</sup> *dā'ira*, presumably a defended circle. As the word *aūrdū* [bracketed in the text] shows, Bābur used it both for his own and for Sangā's camps.



from our camp (*aūrdū*); when we reached his camp (*aūrdū*), we sent Muḥammadi, 'Abdu'l-'azīz, 'Alī Khān and some others in pursuit of him. There was a little slackness;<sup>1</sup> I ought to have gone myself, and not have left the matter to what I expected from other people. When I had gone as much as a *kuroh* (2 m.) beyond the Pagan's camp, I turned back because it was late in the day; I came to our camp at the Bed-time Prayer.

With what ill-omened words Muḥammad Sharīf the astrologer had fretted me! Yet he came at once to congratulate me! I emptied my inwards<sup>2</sup> in abuse of him, but, spite of his being heathenish, ill-omened of speech, extremely self-satisfied, and a most disagreeable person, I bestowed a *lak* upon him because there had been deserving service from him in former times, and, after saying he was not to stay in my dominions, I gave him leave to go.

Fol. 325b.

(b. *Suppression of a rebellion.*)

(*March 17th*) We remained next day (*Jumāda II. 14th*) on that same ground. Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* and Shaikh Gūran and 'Abdu'l-malik<sup>3</sup> the armourer were sent off with a dense (*qālīn*) army against Iliās Khān who, having rebelled in Between-the-two-waters (Ganges and Jumna), had taken Kūl (Koel) and made Kīchīk 'Alī prisoner.<sup>4</sup> He could not fight when they came up; his force scattered in all directions; he himself was taken a few days later and brought into Āgra where I had him flayed alive.

(c. *A trophy of victory.*)

An order was given to set up a pillar of pagan heads on the infant-hill (*koh-bacha*) between which and our camp the battle had been fought.

<sup>1</sup> Hence the Rānā escaped. He died in this year, not without suspicion of poison.

<sup>2</sup> *aichimni khāli qildim*, a seeming equivalent for English, "I poured out my spleen."

<sup>3</sup> var. *malūk* as e.g. in I.O. 217 f.225b, and also elsewhere in the *Bābur-nāma*.

<sup>4</sup> On f. 315 the acts attributed to Iliās Khān are said to have been done by a "mannikin called Rustam Khān". Neither name appears elsewhere in the B.N.; the hero's name seems a sarcasm on the small man.

*(d. Bāna visited.)*

(*March 20th*) Marching on from that ground, and after halting on two nights, we reached Bāna (*Sunday, Jumāda II. 17th*). Countless numbers of the bodies of pagans and apostates<sup>1</sup> who had fallen in their flight, lay on the road as far as Bāna, indeed as far as Alūr and Mīwāt.<sup>2</sup>

*(e. Discussion of plans.)*

On our return to camp, I summoned the Turk amīrs and the amīrs of Hind to a consultation about moving into the Pagan (Sangā)'s country; the plan was given up because of the little water and much heat on the road.

*(f. Mīwāt.)*

Near Dihlī lies the Mīwāt country which yields revenue of 3 or 4 *krūrs*.<sup>3</sup> Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī*<sup>4</sup> and his ancestors one after another had ruled it with absolute sway for a hundred years or two. They must have made<sup>5</sup> imperfect submission to the Dihlī Sultāns; the Sultāns of Hind,<sup>6</sup> whether because their own dominions were wide, or because their opportunity was narrow, or because of the Mīwāt hill-country,<sup>7</sup> did not turn in the Mīwāt direction, did not establish order in it, but just

Fol. 326.

<sup>1</sup> Bābur so-calls both Ḥasan and his followers, presumably because they followed their race sympathies, as of Rājput origin, and fought against co-religionists. Though Ḥasan's subjects, Meos, were nominally Muḥammadans, it appears that they practised some Hindu customs. For an account of Mīwāt, see *Gazetteer of Ulwar* (Alwar, Alūr) by Major P. W. Powlett.

<sup>2</sup> Alwar being in Mīwāt, Bābur may mean that bodies were found beyond that town in the main portion of the Mīwāt country which lies north of Alwar towards Dihlī.

<sup>3</sup> Major Powlett speaking (p.9) of the revenue Mīwāt paid to Bābur, quotes Thomas as saying that the coins stated in Bābur's Revenue Accounts, viz. 169,81,000 *tankas* were probably Sikandarī *tankas*, or Rs. 8,490,50.

<sup>4</sup> This word appears to have been restricted in its use to the Khān-zādas of the ruling house in Mīwāt, and was not used for their subjects, the Meos (Powlett *l.c.* Cap. I.). The uses of "Mīwātī" and "Meo" suggest something analogous with those of "Chaghatāī" and "Mughūl" in Bābur's time. The resemblance includes mutual dislike and distrust (Powlett *l.c.*).

<sup>5</sup> *qilūrlār aikān dūr*. This presumptive past tense is frequently used by the cautious Bābur. I quote it here and in a few places near-following because it supports Shaw's statement that in it the use of *aikān* (*ikān*) reduces the positive affirmation of the perfect to presumption or rumour. With this statement all grammarians are not agreed; it is fully supported by the *Bābur-nāma*.

<sup>6</sup> Contrast here is suggested between Sultāns of Dihlī & Hind; is it between the greater Turks with whom Bābur classes himself immediately below as a conqueror of Hind, and the Lūḍī Sultāns of Dihlī?

<sup>7</sup> The strength of the Tijāra hills towards Dihlī is historical (Powlett *l.c.* p.132).

put up with this amount of (imperfect) submission. For our own part, we did after the fashion of earlier Sulṭāns; having conquered Hind, we shewed favour to Ḥasan Khān, but that thankless and heathenish apostate disregarded our kindness and benefits, was not grateful for favour and promotion, but became the mover of all disturbance and the cause of all misdoing.

When, as has been mentioned, we abandoned the plan (against Rānā Sangā), we moved to subdue Mīwāt. Having made 4 night-halts on the way, we dismounted on the bank of the Mānas-nī<sup>1</sup> 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) from Alūr, the present seat of government in Mīwāt. Ḥasan Khān and his forefathers must have had their seat<sup>2</sup> in Tijāra, but when I turned towards Hindūstan, beat Pahār (or Bihār) Khān and took Lāhor and Dībālpūr (930AH.—1524AD.), he bethought himself betimes and busied himself for a residence (*'imārat*) in Fort Alūr (Alwar).

His trusted man, Karm-chand by name, who had come from him to me in Āgra when his son (Nāhar *i.e.* Tiger) was with me there,<sup>3</sup> came now from that son's presence in Alūr and asked for peace. 'Abdu'r-raḥīm *shaghāwal* went with him to Alūr, conveying letters of royal favour, and returned bringing Nāhar Khān who was restored to favour and received *parganas* worth several *laks* for his support.

Fol. 326b.

(*g. Rewards to officers.*)

Thinking, "What good work Khusrau did in the battle!" I named him for Alūr and gave him 50 *laks* for his support, but unluckily for himself, he put on airs and did not accept this. Later on it [*khawud*, itself] came to be known that Chīn-tīmūr must have done<sup>4</sup> that work; guerdon was made him for his renown (?);<sup>5</sup> Tijāra-town, the seat of government

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the names of the principal river which flows eastwards to the south of Alwar town; other names are Bārah and Rūparel. Powlett notes that it appears in Thorn's Map of the battle of Laswarree (1803 AD.), which he reproduces on p. 146. But it is still current in Gurgaon, with also a variant Mānas-le, man-killer (*G. of Gurgaon* 1910 AD. ivA, p. 6).

<sup>2</sup> *aūltūrūrlār aikān dūr*, the presumptive past tense.

<sup>3</sup> f. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *qūlghān aikān dūr*, the presumptive past tense.

<sup>5</sup> *Sulṭān atīghā julḏū būlūb*; Pers. trs. *Julḏū ba nām-i Sulṭān shud*. The *julḏū* guerdon seems to be apart from the fief and allowance.

in Miwāt, was bestowed on him together with an allowance of 50 *laks* for his support.

Alūr and an allowance of 15 *laks* was bestowed on Tardīka (or, Tardī *yakka*) who in the flanking-party of the right-hand (*qūl*) had done better than the rest. The contents of the Alūr treasury were bestowed on Humāyūn.

(*h. Alwar visited.*)

(*April 13th*) Marching from that camp on Wednesday the 1st of the month of Rajab, we came to within 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) of Alūr. I went to see the fort, there spent the night, and next day went back to camp.

(*i. Leave given to various followers.*)

When the oath before-mentioned<sup>1</sup> was given to great and small before the Holy-battle with Rānā Sangā, it had been mentioned<sup>2</sup> that there would be nothing to hinder leave after this victory, and that leave would be given to anyone wishing to go away (from Hindūstān). Most of Humāyūn's men were from Badakhshān or elsewhere on that side (of Hindū-kūsh); they had never before been of an army led out for even a month or two; there had been weakness amongst them before the fight; on these accounts and also because Kābul was empty of troops, it was now decided to give Humāyūn leave for Kābul. Fol. 327.

(*April 11th*) Leaving the matter at this, we marched from Alūr on Thursday the 9th of Rajab, did 4 or 5 *kurohs* (8–10 m.) and dismounted on the bank of the Mānas-water.

Mahdī Khwāja also had many discomforts; he too was given leave for Kābul. The military-collectorate of Bīāna [he held] was bestowed on Dost Lord-of-the-gate, and, as previously Etāwa had been named for Mahdī Khwāja,<sup>3</sup> Mahdī Khwāja's son Ja'far Khwāja was sent there in his father's place when (later) Quṭb Khān abandoned it and went off.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> f. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Bābur does not record this detail (f. 315).

<sup>3</sup> f. 298b and f. 328b. Ja'far is mentioned as Mahdī's son by Gul-badan and in the *Ḥabībū's-siyar* iii, 311, 312.

<sup>4</sup> f. 388b.

*(j. Despatch of the Letter-of-victory.)*

Because of the leave given to Humāyūn, two or three days were spent on this ground. From it Mūmin-i-'alī the messenger (*tawāchī*) was sent off for Kābul with the *Fatḥ-nāma*.)

*(k. Excursions and return to Āgra.)*

Praise had been heard of the Fīrūzpūr-spring and of the great lake of Kūtila.<sup>1</sup> Leaving the camp on that same ground, I rode out on Sunday (*Rajab 12th-April 14th*) both to visit Fol. 327b. these places and to set Humāyūn on his way. After visiting Fīrūzpūr and its spring on that same day, *ma'jūn* was eaten. In the valley where the spring rises, oleanders (*kanūr*) were in bloom; the place is not without charm but is over-praised. I ordered a reservoir of hewn stone, 10 by 10<sup>2</sup> to be made where the water widened, spent the night in that valley, next day rode on and visited the Kūtila lake. It is surrounded by mountain-skirts. The Mānas-nī is heard-say to go into it.<sup>3</sup> It is a very large lake, from its one side the other side is not well seen. In the middle of it is rising ground. At its sides are many small boats, by going off in which the villagers living near it are said to escape from any tumult or disturbance. Even on our arrival a few people went in them to the middle of the lake.

On our way back from the lake, we dismounted in Humāyūn's camp. There we rested and ate food, and after having put robes of honour on him and his begs, bade him farewell at the Bed-time Prayer, and rode on. We slept for a little at some place on the road, at shoot of day passed through the *pargana* of Kharī, again slept a little, and at length got to our camp

<sup>1</sup> The town of Fīrūzpūr is commonly known as Fīrūzpūr-jhirka (Fīrūzpūr of the spring), from a small perennial stream which issues from a number of fissures in the rocks bordering the road through a pass in the Mīwāt hills which leads from the town *vid* Tijāra to Rewāri (*G. of Gurgaon*, p. 249). In Abū'l-faḥl's day there was a Hindū shrine of Mahadeo near the spring, which is still a place of annual pilgrimage. The Kūtila lake is called Kotla-*jūl* in the *G. of G.* (p. 7). It extends now 3 m. by 2½ m. varying in size with the season; in Abū'l-faḥl's day it was 4 *kos* (8 m.) round. It lies partly in the district of Nūh, partly in Gurgaon, where the two tracts join at the foot of the Alwar hills.

<sup>2</sup> This is the frequently mentioned size for reservoirs; the measure here is probably the *qārī*, *cir.* a yard.

<sup>3</sup> Bābur does not state it as a fact known to himself that the Mānas-nī falls into the Kūtila lake; it did so formerly, but now does not, tradition assigning a cause for the change (*G. of G.* p. 6). He uses the hear-say tense, *kīrār aīmīsh*.

which had dismounted at Toda-(bhim).<sup>1</sup> After leaving Toda, we dismounted at Sūnkār; there Ḥasan Khān *Mīwātī's* son Fol. 328. Nāhar Khān escaped from 'Abdu'r-raḥīm's charge.

Going on from that place, we halted one night, then dismounted at a spring situated on the bill of a mountain between Busāwar and Chausa<sup>2</sup> (or Jūsa); there awnings were set up and we committed the sin of *ma'jūn*. When the army had passed by this spring, Tardī Beg *khāksār* had praised it; he (or we) had come and seen it from on horse-back (*sar-asbgi*) and passed on. It is a perfect spring. In Hindūstān where there are never running-waters,<sup>3</sup> people seek out the springs themselves. The rare springs that are found, come oozing drop by drop (*āb-zih*) out of the ground, not bubbling up like springs of those lands.<sup>4</sup> From this spring comes about a half-mill-water. It bubbles up on the hill-skirt; meadows lie round it; it is very beautiful. I ordered an octagonal reservoir of hewn stone made above<sup>5</sup> it. While we were at the border of the spring, under the soothing influence of *ma'jūn*, Tardī Beg, contending for its surpassing beauty, said again and again, (*Persian*) "Since I am celebrating the beauty of the place,<sup>6</sup> a name ought to be settled for it". 'Abdu'l-lāh said, "It must be called the Royal-spring approved of by Tardī Beg." This saying caused much joke and laughter.

Dost Lord-of-the-gate coming up from Bīāna, waited on me at this spring-head. Leaving this place, we visited Bīāna again, Fol. 328b. went on to Sīkrī, dismounted there at the side of a garden which had been ordered made, stayed two days supervising the garden, and on Thursday the 23rd of Rajab (*April 25th*), reached Āgra.

(*l. Chandwār and Rāprī regained.*)

During recent disturbances, the enemy, as has been mentioned,<sup>7</sup> had possessed themselves of Chandwār<sup>8</sup> and Rāprī. Against

<sup>1</sup> Khari and Toda were in Akbar's *sarkār* of Rantambhor.

<sup>2</sup> Bhoṣāwar is in Bhurtpūr, and Chausa (or Jūsa) may be the Chausath of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī*, ii, 183.

<sup>3</sup> As has been noted frequently, this phrase stands for artificial water-courses.

<sup>4</sup> Certainly Trans-Hindū-kush lands; presumably also those of Trans-Indus, Kābul in chief.

<sup>5</sup> *asṭī*; perhaps the reservoir was so built as to contain the bubbling spring.

<sup>6</sup> *Chūn jā'ī khwush karda ām*.

<sup>7</sup> f. 315.

<sup>8</sup> var. Janwār (Jarrett). It is 25 m. east of Āgra on the Muttra-Etāwa road (*G. of I.*).

those places we now sent Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Qūj Beg's (brother) Tardī Beg, 'Abdu'l-malik the armourer, and Ḥasan Khān with his Daryā-khānīs. When they were near Chandwār, Quṭb Khān's people in it got out and away. Our men laid hands on it, and passed on to Rāprī. Here Ḥusain Khān *Nūhānī's* people came to the lane-end<sup>1</sup> thinking to fight a little, could not stand the attack of our men, and took to flight. Ḥusain Khān himself with a few followers went into the Jūn-river (Jumna) on an elephant and was drowned. Quṭb Khān, for his part, abandoned Etāwa on hearing these news, fled with a few and got away. Etāwa having been named for Mahdī Khwāja, his son Ja'far Khwāja was sent there in his place.<sup>2</sup>

(*m. Apportionment of fiefs.*)

When Rānā Sangā sallied out against us, most Hindūstānīs and Afghāns, as has been mentioned,<sup>3</sup> turned round against us and took possession of their *parganas* and districts.<sup>4</sup>

Fol. 329. Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi* who had abandoned Qanūj and come to me, would not agree to go there again, whether from fear or for his reputation's sake; he therefore exchanged the 30 *laks* of Qanūj for the 15 of Sihrind, and Qanūj was bestowed with an allowance of 30 *laks* on Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā. Badāūn<sup>5</sup> was given to Qāsim-i-Ḥusain Sulṭān and he was sent against Bīban who had laid siege to Luknūr<sup>6</sup> during the disturbance with Rānā Sangā, together with Muḥammad Sl. Mīrzā, and, of Turk amīrs, Bābā Qashqa's Malik Qāsim with his elder and younger brethren and his Mughūls, and Abū'l-muḥammad the lance-player, and Mu'yad with his father's Daryā-khānīs and those of Ḥusain Khān *Daryā-khānī* and the retainers of Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi*, and again, of amīrs of Hind, 'Alī Khān *Farmūli* and Malik Dād *Kararānī* and Shaikh Muḥammad of Shaikh *Bhakhārī* (?) and Tātār Khān Khān-i-jahān.

<sup>1</sup> *kūcha-band*, perhaps a barricade at the limit of a suburban lane.

<sup>2</sup> This has been mentioned already (f. 327).

<sup>3</sup> f. 315.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* those professedly held for Bābur.

<sup>5</sup> Or, according to local pronunciation, Badāyūn.

<sup>6</sup> This is the old name of Shāhābād in Rāmpūr (*G. of I.* xxii, 197). The *A.-i-A.* locates it in Sambal. Cf. E. and D.'s *History of India*, iv, 384 n. and v, 215 n.

At the time this army was crossing the Gang-river (Ganges), Bībān, hearing about it, fled, abandoning his baggage. Our army followed him to Khairābād,<sup>1</sup> stayed there a few days and then turned back.

(n. *Appointments and dispersion for the Rains.*)

After the treasure had been shared out,<sup>2</sup> Rānā Sangā's great affair intervened before districts and *parganas* were apportioned. During the respite now from Holy-war against the Pagan (Sangā), this apportionment was made. As the Rains were near, it was settled for every-one to go to his *pargana*, get equipment Fol. 329b. ready, and be present when the Rains were over.

(o. *Misconduct of Humāyūn.*)

Meantime news came that Humāyūn had gone into Dihlī, there opened several treasure-houses and, without permission, taken possession of their contents. I had never looked for such a thing from him ; it grieved me very much ; I wrote and sent off to him very severe reproaches.<sup>3</sup>

(p. *An embassy to 'Irāq.*)

Khwājagī Asad who had already gone as envoy to 'Irāq and returned with Sulaimān *Turkmān*,<sup>4</sup> was again joined with him and on the 15th of Sha'bān (*May 17th*) sent with befitting gifts to Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp.

(q. *Tardī Beg khāksār resigns service.*)

I had brought Tardī Beg out from the darwish-life and made a soldier of him ; for how many years had he served me ! Now his desire for the darwish-life was overmastering and he asked for leave. It was given and he was sent as an envoy to Kāmran conveying 3 *laks* from the Treasury for him.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the one in Sītapūr.

<sup>2</sup> f. 305b.

<sup>3</sup> As the Elphinstone Codex which is the treasure-house of Humāyūn's notes, has a long *lacuna* into which this episode falls, it is not known if the culprit entered in his copy of the *Bābur-nāma* a marginal excuse for his misconduct (cf. f. 252 and n.) ; such excuse was likely to be that he knew he would be forgiven by his clement father.

<sup>4</sup> f. 305b.

<sup>5</sup> Kāmran would be in Qandahār. Erskine notes that the sum sent to him would be about £750, but that if the coins were rūpīs, it would be £30,000.



*(r. Lines addressed to deserting friends.)*

A little fragment<sup>1</sup> had been composed suiting the state of those who had gone away during the past year ; I now addressed it to Mullā 'Alī Khān and sent it to him by Tardī Beg. It is as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

Fol. 330.

Ah you who have gone from this country of Hind,  
 Aware for yourselves of its woe and its pain,  
 With longing desire for Kābul's fine air,  
 You went hot-foot forth out of Hind.  
 The pleasure you looked for you will have found there  
 With sociable ease and charm and delight ;  
 As for us, God be thanked ! we still are alive,  
 In spite of much pain and unending distress ;  
 Pleasures of sense and bodily toil  
 Have been passed-by by you, passed-by too by us.

*(s. Of the Ramḡān Feast.)*

Ramḡān was spent this year with ablution and *tarāwih*<sup>3</sup> in the Garden-of-eight-paradises. Since my 11th year I had not kept the Ramḡān Feast for two successive years in the same place ; last year I had kept it in Āgra ; this year, saying, "Don't break the rule !" I went on the last day of the month to keep it in Sikrī. Tents were set up on a stone platform made on the n.e. side of the Garden-of-victory which is now being laid out at Sikrī, and in them the Feast was held.<sup>4</sup>

*(t. Playing cards.)*

The night we left Āgra Mīr 'Alī the armourer was sent to Shāh Ḥasan (*Arghūn*) in Tatta to take him playing-cards [*ganjīfa*] he much liked and had asked for.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *qīṭā'*, for account of which form of poem see Blochmann's translations of Saifi's and Jāmi's *Prosody*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāmḡūr Dīwān* (E. D. Ross' ed. p. 16 and Plate 14a). I am uncertain as to the meaning of ll. 4 and 10. I am not sure that what in most MSS. ends line 4, *vis. aūl dam*, should not be read as *aūlūm*, death ; this is allowed by Plate 14a where for space the word is divided and may be *aūlūm*. To read *aūlūm* and that the deserters fled from the death in Hind they were anxious about, has an answering phrase in "we still are alive". Ll. 9 and 10 perhaps mean that in the things named all have done alike. [Ilminsky reads *khāir nafsi* for the elsewhere *hazz-nafsi*.]

<sup>3</sup> These are 20 attitudes (*rak'ah*) assumed in prayer during Ramḡān after the Bed-time Prayer. The ablution (*ghusl*) is the bathing of the whole body for ceremonial purification.

<sup>4</sup> This Feast is the 'Id-i-ḡīṭ, held at the breaking of the Ramḡān Fast on the 1st of Shawwāl.

<sup>5</sup> Erskine notes that this is the earliest mention of playing-cards he can recall in oriental literature.

(*u. Illness and a tour.*)

(*August 3rd*) On Sunday the 5th of Zū'l-qa'da I fell ill ; the illness lasted 17 days.

(*August 24th*) On Friday the 24th of the same month we set out to visit Dūlpūr. That night I slept at a place half-way ; Fol. 330b. reached Sikandar's dam <sup>1</sup> at dawn, and dismounted there.

At the end of the hill below the dam the rock is of building-stone. I had Ustād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter brought and gave him an order that if a house could be cut all in one piece in that rock, it was to be done, but that if the rock were too low for a residence (*'imārat*), it was to be levelled and have a reservoir, all in one piece, cut out of it.

From Dūlpūr we went on to visit Bārī. Next morning (*August 26th*) I rode out from Bārī through the hills between it and the Chambal-river in order to view the river. This done I went back to Bārī. In these hills we saw the ebony-tree, the fruit of which people call *tindū*. It is said that there are white ebony-trees also and that most ebony-trees in these hills are of this kind.<sup>2</sup> On leaving Bārī we went to Sikri ; we reached Āgra on the 29th of the same month (*August 28th*).

(*v. Doubts about Shaikh Bāyazīd Farmūli.*)

As in these days people were telling wild news about Shaikh Bāyazīd, Sl. Qulī *Turk* was sent to him to give him trust<sup>3</sup> in 20 days.

(*w. Religious and metrical exercises.*)

(*August 28th*) On Friday the 2nd of Zū'l-ḥijja I began what one is made to read 41 times.<sup>4</sup>

In these same days I cut up [*taqṭ'*] the following couplet of mine into 504 measures<sup>5</sup> :—

<sup>1</sup> f. 339b.

<sup>2</sup> The two varieties mentioned by Bābur seem to be *Diospyrus melanoxylon*, the wood of which is called *tindu abnūs* in Hindūstānī, and *D. tomentosa*, Hindi, *tindu* (Brandis s.nn.). Bārī is 19 m. west of Dūlpūr.

<sup>3</sup> *mī'ād*, perhaps the time at which the Shaikh was to appear before Bābur.

<sup>4</sup> The Pers. trs. makes the more definite statement that what had to be read was a Section of the Qoran (*wird*). This was done with remedial aim for the illness.

<sup>5</sup> As this statement needs comment, and as it is linked to matters mentioned in the *Rāmpūr Dīwān*, it seems better to remit remarks upon it to Appendix Q, *Some matters concerning the Rāmpūr Dīwān*.

“ Shall I tell of her eye or her brow, her fire or her speech?  
 Shall I tell of her stature or cheek, of her hair or her waist? ”

On this account a treatise <sup>1</sup> was arranged.

(*x. Return of illness.*)

Fol. 331. On this day (*i.e.* 2nd Z̄ū'l-ḥijja) I fell ill again; the illness lasted nine days.

(*y. Start for Saṃbal.*)

(*Sep. 24<sup>th</sup>*) On Thursday the 29th of Z̄ū'l-ḥijja we rode out for an excursion to Kūl and Saṃbal.

<sup>1</sup> *risāla.* See Appendix Q.

(a. *Visit to Kūl (Aligarh) and Sām̄bal.*)

(*Sep. 27th*) On Saturday the 1st of Muḥarram we dismounted in Kūl (Koel). Humāyūn had left Darwish(-i-'alī) and Yūsuf-i-'alī<sup>2</sup> in Sām̄bal; they crossed one river,<sup>3</sup> fought Quṭb Sīrwānī<sup>4</sup> and a party of rājas, beat them well and killed a mass of men. They sent a few heads and an elephant into Kūl while we were there. After we had gone about Kūl for two days, we dismounted at Shaikh Gūran's house by his invitation, where he entertained us hospitably and laid an offering before us.

(*Sep. 30th—Muh. 4th*) Riding on from that place, we dismounted at Aūtrūlī (Atrauli).<sup>5</sup>

(*Oct. 1st—Muh. 5th*) On Wednesday we crossed the river Gang (Ganges) and spent the night in villages of Sām̄bal.

(*Oct. 2nd—Muh. 6th*) On Thursday we dismounted in Sām̄bal. After going about in it for two days, we left on Saturday.

(*Oct. 5th—Muh. 9th*) On Sunday we dismounted in Sikandara<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elph. MS. *lacuna*; I.O. 215 *lacuna* and 217 f.229; Mems. p.373. This year's narrative resumes the diary form.

<sup>2</sup> There is some uncertainty about these names and also as to which adversary crossed the river. The sentence which, I think, shews, by its plural verb, that Humāyūn left two men and, by its co-ordinate participles, that it was they crossed the river, is as follows:—(Darwish and Yūsuf, understood) *Quṭb Sīrwānī-nī u bīr pāra rājalār-nī bīr daryā aūtūb aūrūshūb yakshī bāsīb tūrlār. Aūtūb, aūrūshūb and bāsīb* are grammatically referable to the same subject, [whatever was the fact about the crossing].

<sup>3</sup> *bīr daryā*; W.-i-B. 217 f.229, *yak daryā*, one river, but many MSS. *har daryā*, every river. If it did not seem pretty certain that the rebels were not in the Miyāndū-āb one would surmise the river to be "one river" of the two enclosing the tract "between the waters", and that one to be the Ganges. It may be one near Sām̄bal, east of the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> var. Shīrwānī. The place giving the cognomen may be Sarwān, a *thakurāt* of the Mālwa Agency (*G. of I.*). Quṭb of Sīrwān may be the Quṭb Khān of earlier mention without the cognomen.

<sup>5</sup> n.w. of Aligarh (Kūl). It may be noted here, where instances begin to be frequent, that my translation "we marched" is an evasion of the Turkī impersonal "it was marched". Most rarely does Bābur write "we marched", never, "I marched."

<sup>6</sup> in the Aligarh (Kūl) district; it is the Sikandara Rao of the *A.-i-A.* and the *G. of I.*

at the house of Rāo *Sīrwānī* who set food before us and served us. When we rode out at dawn, I made some pretext to leave the rest, and galloped on alone to within a *kuroh* of Āgra where they overtook me. At the Mid-day Prayer we dismounted in Āgra.

(b. *Illness of Bābur.*)

(Oct. 12th) On Sunday the 16th of Muḥarram I had fever and ague. This returned again and again during the next 25 or 26 days. I drank operative medicine and at last relief came. I suffered much from thirst and want of sleep.

Fol. 331b. While I was ill, I composed a quatrain or two ; here is one of them :—<sup>1</sup>

Fever grows strong in my body by day,  
Sleep quits my eyes as night comes on ;  
Like to my pain and my patience the pair,  
For while that goes waxing, this wanes.

(c. *Arrival of kinswomen.*)

(Nov. 23rd) On Saturday the 28th of Ṣafar there arrived two of the paternal-aunt begīms, Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm and Khadīja-sulṭān Begīm.<sup>2</sup> I went to above Sikandarābād to wait on them.<sup>3</sup>

(d. *Concerning a mortar.*)

(Nov. 24th—Ṣafar 29th) On Sunday Ustād 'Alī-qulī discharged a stone from a large mortar ; the stone went far but the mortar broke in pieces, one of which, knocking down a party of men, killed eight.

(e. *Visit to Sikrī.*)

(Dec. 1st) On Monday the 7th of the first Rabī' I rode out to visit Sikrī. The octagonal platform ordered made in the middle of the lake was ready ; we went over by boat, had an awning set up on it and elected for *ma'jūn*.

<sup>1</sup> *Rāmpūr Dīwān* (E.D.Ross' ed., p.19, Plate 16b). This *Dīwān* contains other quatrains which, judging from their contents, may well be those Bābur speaks of as also composed in Saṃbal. See Appendix Q, *Some matters concerning the Rāmpūr Dīwān*.

<sup>2</sup> These are aunts of Bābur, daughters of Sl. Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī*.

<sup>3</sup> Sikandarābād is in the Buland-shahr district of the United Provinces.

*(f. Holy-war against Chandīrī.)*

(*Dec. 9th*) After returning from Sīkrī we started on Monday night the 14th of the first Rabī,<sup>1</sup> with the intention of making Holy-war against Chandīrī, did as much as 3 *kurohs* (6 m.) and dismounted in Jalisīr.<sup>2</sup> After staying there two days for people to equip and array, we marched on Thursday (*Dec. 12th—Rabī' I. 17th*) and dismounted at Anwār. I left Anwār by boat, and disembarked beyond Chandwār.<sup>3</sup>

(*Dec. 23rd*) Advancing march by march, we dismounted at the Kanār-passage<sup>4</sup> on Monday the 28th.

(*Dec. 26th*) On Thursday the 2nd of the latter Rabī' I crossed the river; there was 4 or 5 days delay on one bank or the other before the army got across. On those days we went more than once on board a boat and ate *ma'jūn*. The junction of the river Chambal is between one and two *kurohs* (2-4 m.) above the Kanār-passage; on Friday I went into a boat on the Chambal, passed the junction and so to camp. Fol. 332.

*(g. Troops sent against Shaikh Bāyazīd Farmūlī.)*

Though there had been no clear proof of Shaikh Bāyazīd's hostility, yet his misconduct and action made it certain that he had hostile intentions. On account of this Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* was detached from the army and sent to bring together from Qanūj Muḥammad Sī. Mīrzā and the sultāns and amīrs of that neighbourhood, such as Qāsīm-i-ḥusain Sultān, Bī-khūb (or, Nī-khūb) Sultān, Malik Qāsīm, Kūkī, Abū'l-muḥammad the lancer, and Minūchihr Khān with his elder and younger brethren and Daryā-khānīs, so that they might move against the hostile Afghāns. They were to invite Shaikh Bāyazīd to go with them; if he came frankly, they were to take him along; if not, were to drive him off. Muḥammad 'Alī

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether Bābur returned from Sīkrī on the day he started for Jalisīr; no question of distance would prevent him from making the two journeys on the Monday.

<sup>2</sup> As this was the rendezvous for the army, it would be convenient if it lay between Āgra and Anwār; as it was 6 m. from Āgra, the only mapped place having approximately the name Jalisīr, *viz.* Jalesar, in Etah, seems too far away.

<sup>3</sup> Anwār would be suitably the Unwāra of the *Indian Atlas*, which is on the first important southward dip of the Jumna below Āgra. Chandwār is 25 m. east of Āgra, on the Muttra-Etāwah road (*G. of I.*); Jarrett notes that Tiefenthaler identifies it with Firūzābād (*A.-i.-A.* ii, 183 n.).

<sup>4</sup> In the district of Kālpi. The name does not appear in maps I have seen.

asking for a few elephants, ten were given him. After he had leave to set off, Bābā Chuhra (the Brave) was sent to and ordered to join him.

(*h. Incidents of the journey to Chandīri.*)

From Kanār one *kuroh* (2 m.) was done by boat.

(*Jan. 1st 1528 A.D.*) On Wednesday the 8th of the latter Rabi' we dismounted within a *kuroh* of Kālpī. Bābā Sl. came to wait on me in this camp; he is a son of Khalīl Sl. who is a younger brother of the full-blood of Sl. Sa'īd Khān. Last year he fled from his elder brother<sup>1</sup> but, repenting himself, went back from the Andar-āb border; when he neared Kāshghar, The Khān (Sa'īd) sent Haidar M. to meet him and take him back.

Fol. 332b.

(*Jan. 2nd—Rabi' II. 9th*) Next day we dismounted at 'Ālam Khān's house in Kālpī where he set Hindūstānī food before us and made an offering.

(*Jan. 6th*) On Monday the 13th of the month we marched from Kālpī.

(*Jan. 10th—Rabi' II. 17th*) On Friday we dismounted at Īrij.<sup>2</sup>

(*Jan. 11th*) On Saturday we dismounted at Bāndīr.<sup>3</sup>

(*Jan. 12th*) On Sunday the 19th of the month Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was put at the head of 6 or 7000 men and sent ahead against Chandīri. With him went the begs Bāqī *mīng-bāshī* (head of a thousand), Qūj Beg's (brother) Tardī Beg, 'Āshiq the taster, Mullā Apāq, Muḥsin<sup>4</sup> *Dūldāī* and, of the Hindūstānī begs, Shaikh Gūran.

(*Jan 17th*) On Friday the 24th of the month we dismounted near Kachwa. After encouraging its people, it was bestowed on the son of Badru'd-dīn.<sup>5</sup>

Kachwa<sup>6</sup> is a shut-in place, having lowish hills all round it.

<sup>1</sup> *āghā*, Anglicé, uncle. He was Sa'īd Khān of Kāshghar. Haidar M. says Bābā Sl. was a spoiled child and died without mending his ways.

<sup>2</sup> From Kālpī Bābur will have taken the road to the s.w. near which now runs the Cawnpur (Kānhpūr) branch of the Indian Midland Railway, and he must have crossed the Betwa to reach Īrij (Irich, *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 69 N.W.).

<sup>3</sup> Leaving Īrij, Bābur will have recrossed the Betwa and have left its valley to go west to Bāndīr (Bhander) on the Pahūj (*Indian Atlas*, Sheet 69 S.W.).

<sup>4</sup> beneficent, or Muḥassan, comely.

<sup>5</sup> The one man of this name mentioned in the *B.N.* is an amīr of Sl. Ḥusain *Bāi-garā*.

<sup>6</sup> It seems safe to take Kachwa [Kajwa] as the Kajwarra of Ibn Batūta, and the Kadwāha (Kadwaia) of the *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 52 N.E. and of Luard's *Gazetteer*

A dam has been thrown across between hills on the south-east of it, and thus a large lake made, perhaps 5 or 6 *kurohs* (10–12 m.) round. This lake encloses Kachwa on three sides; on the north-west a space of ground is kept dry;<sup>1</sup> here, therefore is its Gate. On the lake are a great many very small boats, able to hold 3 or 4 persons; in these the inhabitants go out on the lake, if they have to flee. There are two other lakes before Kachwa is reached, smaller than its own and, like that, made by throwing a dam across between hills. Fol. 133.

of *Gwalior* (i, 247), which is situated in 24° 58' N. and 77° 57' E. Each of the three names is of a place standing on a lake; Ibn Batūta's lake was a league (4 m.) long, Bābur's about 11 miles round; Luard mentions no lake, but the *Indian Atlas* marks one quite close to Kadwāha of such form as to seem to have a tongue of land jutting into it from the north-west, and thus suiting Bābur's description of the site of Kachwa. Again,—Ibn Batūta writes of Kajwarra as having, round its lake, idol-temples; Luard says of Kadwāha that it has four idol-temples standing and nine in ruins; there may be hinted something special about Bābur's Kachwa by his remark that he encouraged its people, and this speciality may be interaction between Muḥammadanism and Hindūism serving here for the purpose of identification. For Ibn Batūta writes of the people of Kajwarra that they were *ḥagīr*, yellowed by asceticism, wearing their hair long and matted, and having Muḥammadan followers who desired to learn their (occult?) secrets. If the same interaction existed in Bābur's day, the Muḥammadan following of the Hindū ascetics may well have been the special circumstance which led him to promise protection to those Hindūs, even when he was out for Holy-war. It has to be remembered of Chandīri, the nearest powerful neighbour of Kadwāha, that though Bābur's capture makes a vivid picture of Hindūism in it, it had been under Muḥammadan rulers down to a relatively short time before his conquest. The *ḥagīr* of Kachwa could point to long-standing relations of tolerance by the Chandīri Governors; this, with their Muḥammadan following, explains the encouragement Bābur gave them, and helps to identify Kachwa with Kajarra. It may be observed that Bābur was familiar with the interaction of the two creeds, witness his "apostates", mostly Muḥammadans following Hindū customs, witness too, for the persistent fact, the reports of District-officers under the British *Rāj*. Again,—a further circumstance helping to identify Kajwarra, Kachwa and Kadwāha is that these are names of the last important station the traveller and the soldier, as well perhaps as the modern wayfarer, stays in before reaching Chandīri. The importance of Kajwarra is shewn by Ibn Batūta, and of Kadwāha by its being a *maḥāll* in Akbar's *sarkār* of Bāyawān of the *ḥūba* of Āgra. Again,—Kadwāha is the place nearest to Chandīri about which Bābur's difficulties as to intermediate road and jungle would arise. That intermediate road takes off the main one a little south of Kadwāha and runs through what looks like a narrow valley and broken country down to Bhamor, Bhurānpūr and Chandīri. Again,—no bar to identification of the three names is placed by their differences of form, in consideration of the vicissitudes they have weathered in tongue, script, and transliteration. There is some ground, I believe, for surmising that their common source is *kajūr*, the date-fruit. [I am indebted to my husband for the help derived from Ibn Batūta, traced by him in Sanguinetti's trs. iv, 33, and S. Lee's trs. p.162.]

(Two places similar in name to Kachwa, and situated on Bābur's route *via*. Kocha near Jhansi, and Kuchoowa north of Kadwāha (Sheet 69 S.W.) are unsuitable for his "Kachwa", the first because too near Bandīr to suit his itinerary, the second because too far from the turn off the main-road mentioned above, because it has no lake, and has not the help in identification detailed above of Kadwāha.)

<sup>1</sup> *qūrūghīr* which could mean also *reserved* (from the water?).



(*Jan. 18th*) We waited a day in Kachwa in order to appoint active overseers and a mass of spademen to level the road and cut jungle down, so that the carts and mortar <sup>1</sup> might pass along it easily. Between Kachwa and Chandīrī the country is jungly.

(*Jan. 19th—Rabī' II. 26th*) After leaving Kachwa we halted one night, passed the Burhānpūr-water (Bhurānpūr) <sup>2</sup> and dismounted within 3 *kurohs* (6 m.) of Chandīrī.

(*i. Chandīrī and its capture.*)

The citadēl of Chandīrī stands on a hill ; below it are the town (*shahr*) and outer-fort (*tāsh-qūrghān*), and below these is the level road along which carts pass.<sup>3</sup> When we left Burhānpūr (*Jan. 10th*) we marched for a *kuroh* below Chandīrī for the convenience of the carts.<sup>4</sup>

(*Jan. 21st*) After one night's halt we dismounted beside Bahjat Khān's tank <sup>5</sup> on the top of its dam, on Tuesday the 28th of the month.

(*Jan. 22nd—Rabī' II. 29th*) Riding out at dawn, we assigned post after post (*būljār, būljār*),<sup>6</sup> round the walled town (*qūrghān*)

<sup>1</sup> *qāsān*. There seems to have been one only ; how few Bābur had is shewn again on f. 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 52 N. E. near a tributary of the Betwa, the Or, which appears to be Bābur's Burhānpūr-water.

<sup>3</sup> The bed of the Betwa opposite Chandīrī is 1050 ft. above the sea ; the walled-town (*qūrghān*) of Chandīrī is on a table-land 250 ft. higher, and its citadel is 230 ft. higher again (Cunningham's *Archeological Survey Report*, 1871 A. D. ii, 404).

<sup>4</sup> The plan of Chandīrī illustrating Cunningham's Report (*see last note*) allows surmise about the road taken by Bābur, surmise which could become knowledge if the names of tanks he gives were still known. The courtesy of the Government of India allows me to reproduce that plan [Appendix R, *Chandīrī and Gwālīārwar*].

<sup>5</sup> He is said to have been Governor of Chandīrī in 1513 A. D.

<sup>6</sup> Here and in similar passages the word *m:ljār* or *m:lchār* is found in MSS. where the meaning is that of T. *būljār*. It is not in any dictionary I have seen ; Mr. Irvine found it "obscure" and surmised it to mean "approach by trenches", but this does not suit its uses in the *Bābur-nāma* of a military post, and a rendezvous. This surmise, containing, as it does, a notion of protection, links *m:ljār* in sense with Ar. *maljā'*. The word needs expert consideration, in order to decide whether it is to be received into dictionaries, or to be rejected because explicable as the outcome of unfamiliarity in Persian scribes with T. *būljār* or, more *Persico* with narrowed vowels, *būljār*. Shaw in his *Vocabulary* enters *būljāq* (*būljār*?), "a station for troops, a rendezvous, see *maljā'*," thus indicating, it would seem, that he was aware of difficulty about *m:ljār* and *būljāq* (*būljār*?). There appears no doubt of the existence of a Turkī word *būljār* with the meanings Shaw gives to *būljāq* ; it could well be formed from the root *būl*, being, whence follows, being in a place, posted. *Maljā* has the meaning of a standing-place, as well as those of a refuge and an asylum ; both meanings seem combined in the *m:ljār* of f. 336b, where for matchlockmen a *m:ljār* was ordered "raised". (Cf. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls* p. 278.)

to centre, right, and left. Ustād 'Alī-qulī chose, for his stone-discharge, ground that had no fall<sup>1</sup>; overseers and spadesmen were told off to raise a place (*m.ljār*) for the mortar to rest on, and the whole army was ordered to get ready appliances for taking a fort, mantelets, ladders<sup>2</sup> and . . . -mantelets (*tūra*).<sup>3</sup>

Formerly Chandīrī will have belonged to the Sulṭāns of Mandāu (Mandū). When Sl. Nāṣiru'd-dīn passed away,<sup>4</sup> one of his sons Sl. Maḥmūd who is now holding Mandū, took possession of it and its neighbouring parts, and another son called Muḥammad Shāh laid hands on Chandīrī and put it under Sl. Sikandar (*Lūdī*)'s protection, who, in his turn, took Muḥammad Shāh's side and sent him large forces. Muḥammad Shāh survived Sl. Sikandar and died in Sl. Ibrāhīm's time, leaving a very young son called Aḥmad Shāh whom Sl. Ibrāhīm drove out and replaced by a man of his own. At the time Rānā Sangā led out an army against Sl. Ibrāhīm and Ibrāhīm's begs turned against him at Dūlpūr, Chandīrī fell into the Rānā's hands and by him was given to Medīnī [Mindnī] Rāo<sup>5</sup> the greatly-trusted pagan who was now in it with 4 or 5000 other pagans.

Fol. 333b.

As it was understood there was friendship between Medīnī

<sup>1</sup> *yāghdā*; Pers. trs. *sar-āshīb*. Bābur's remark seems to show that for effect his mortar needed to be higher than its object. Presumably it stood on the table-land north of the citadel.

<sup>2</sup> *shātū*. It may be noted that this word, common in accounts of Bābur's sieges, may explain one our friend the late Mr. William Irvine left undecided (*l.c.* p.278), *vis. shātūr*. On p. 281 he states that *nardubān* is the name of a scaling-ladder and that Bābur mentions scaling ladders more than once. Bābur mentions them however always as *shātū*. Perhaps *shātūr* which, as Mr. Irvine says, seems to be made of the trunks of trees and to be a siege appliance, is really *shātū u . . .* (ladder and . . .) as in the passage under note and on f.216b, some other name of an appliance following.

<sup>3</sup> The word here preceding *tūra* has puzzled scribes and translators. I have seen the following variants in MSS. :—*nūkrī* or *tūkrī*, *b:kri* or *y:kri*, *būkrī* or *yūkrī*, *būkrūi* or *yūkrūi*, in each of which the *k* may stand for *g*. Various suggestions might be made as to what the word is, but all involve reading the Persian enclitic *ī* (forming the adjective) instead of Turki *lik*. Two roots, *ūg* and *yūg*, afford plausible explanations of the unknown word; appliances suiting the case and able to bear names formed from one or other of these roots are *wheeled mantelet*, and *head-strike* (P. *sar-kob*). That the word is difficult is shewn not only by the variants I have quoted, but by Erskine's reading *naukarī tūra*, "to serve the *tūras*," a requisite not specified earlier by Bābur, and by de Courteille's paraphrase, *tout ce qui est nécessaire aux tours*.

<sup>4</sup> Sl. Nāṣiru'd-dīn was the Khiljī ruler of Mālwa from 906 to 916 A.H. (1500-1510 AD.).

<sup>5</sup> He was a Rājput who had been prime-minister of Sl. Maḥmūd II. *Khiljī* (son of Nāṣiru'd-dīn) and had rebelled. Bābur (like some other writers) spells his name Mindnī, perhaps as he heard it spoken.

Rāo and Ārāish Khān, the latter was sent with Shaikh Gūran to speak to Medinī Rāo with favour and kindness, and promise Shamsābād<sup>1</sup> in exchange for Chandīrī. One or two of his trusted men got out (?).<sup>2</sup> No adjustment of matters was reached, it is not known whether because Medinī Rāo did not trust what was said, or whether because he was buoyed up by delusion about the strength of the fort.

(*Jan. 28th*) At dawn on Tuesday the 6th of the first Jumāda we marched from Bahjat Khān's tank intending to assault Chandīrī. We dismounted at the side of the middle-tank near the fort.

Fol. 334.

(*j. Bad news.*)

On this same morning after reaching that ground, Khalīfa brought a letter or two of which the purport was that the troops appointed for the East<sup>3</sup> had fought without consideration, been beaten, abandoned Laknau, and gone to Qanūj. Seeing that Khalīfa was much perturbed and alarmed by these news, I said,<sup>4</sup> (*Persian*) "There is no ground for perturbation or alarm; nothing comes to pass but what is predestined of God. As this task (Chandīrī) is ahead of us, not a breath must be drawn about what has been told us. Tomorrow we will assault the fort; that done, we shall see what comes."

(*k. Siege of Chandīrī, resumed.*)

The enemy must have strengthened just the citadel, and have posted men by twos and threes in the outer-fort for prudence's sake. That night our men went up from all round; those few in the outer-fort did not fight; they fled into the citadel.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the one in the United Provinces. For Shamsābād in Gūālīar see Luard *l.c.* i, 286.

<sup>2</sup> *chīqtī*; Pers. trs. *bar āmad* and, also in some MSS. *namī bar āmad*; Mems. p. 376, "averse to conciliation"; *Méms.* ii, 329, "*s'élevèrent contre cette proposition.*" So far I have not found Bābur using the verb *chīqmāq* metaphorically. It is his frequent verb to express "getting away", "going out of a fort". It would be a short step in metaphor to understand here that Medinī's men "got out of it", *i.e.* what Bābur offered. They may have left the fort also; if so, it would be through dissent.

<sup>3</sup> f. 332.

<sup>4</sup> I.O. 217, f. 231, inserts here what seems a gloss, "*Tā in jā Farsi farmūda*" (*gufā*, said). As Bābur enters his speech in Persian, it is manifest that he used Persian to conceal the bad news.

(*Jan. 29th*) At dawn on Wednesday the 7th of the first Jumāda, we ordered our men to arm, go to their posts, provoke to fight, and attack each from his place when I rode out with drum and standard.

I myself, dismissing drum and standard till the fighting should grow hot, went to amuse myself by watching Ustād 'Alī-qulī's stone-discharge.<sup>1</sup> Nothing was effected by it because his ground had no fall (*yāghdā*) and because the fort-walls, being entirely of stone, were extremely strong. Fol. 334b.

That the citadel of Chandīrī stands on a hill has been said already. Down one side of this hill runs a double-walled road (*dū-tahī*) to water.<sup>2</sup> This is the one place for attack; it had been assigned as the post of the right and left hands and royal corps of the centre.<sup>3</sup> Hurling assault was from every side, the greatest force was here brought to bear. Our braves did not turn back, however much the pagans threw down stones and flung flaming fire upon them. At length Shāhīm the centurion<sup>4</sup> got up where the *dū-tahī* wall touches the wall of the outer fort; braves swarmed up in other places; the *dū-tahī* was taken.

Not even as much as this did the pagans fight in the citadel; when a number of our men swarmed up, they fled in haste.<sup>5</sup> In a little while they came out again, quite naked, and renewed the fight; they put many of our men to flight; they made them fly (*āuchūrdīlār*) over the ramparts; some they cut down and killed. Why they had gone so suddenly off the walls seems to have been that they had taken the resolve of those who give up a place as lost; they put all their ladies and beauties (*sūratīlār*) to death, then, looking themselves to die, came naked out to fight. Our men attacking, each one from his post, drove them from the walls whereupon 2 or 300 of them entered Medinī Rāo's house and there almost all killed one another in this way:—one having taken stand with a sword, the rest Fol. 335.

<sup>1</sup> The *Illustrated London News* of July 10th, 1915 (on which day this note is written), has an à propos picture of an ancient fortress-gun, with its stone-ammunition, taken by the Allies in a Dardanelles fort.

<sup>2</sup> The *dū-tahī* is the *āb-dūd*, water-thief, of f.67. Its position can be surmised from Cunningham's Plan [Appendix R].

<sup>3</sup> For Bābur's use of hand (*gūl*) as a military term see f.209.

<sup>4</sup> His full designation would be Shāh Muḥammad *yūs-begī*.

<sup>5</sup> This will be flight from the ramparts to other places in the fort.

eagerly stretched out the neck for his blow.<sup>1</sup> Thus went the greater number to hell.

By God's grace this renowned fort was captured in 2 or 3 *garīs*<sup>2</sup> (*cir.* an hour), without drum and standard,<sup>3</sup> with no hard fighting done. A pillar of pagan-heads was ordered set up on a hill north-west of Chandīrī. A chronogram of this victory having been found in the words *Fath-i-dāru'l-ḥarb*<sup>4</sup> (Conquest of a hostile seat), I thus composed them :—

Was for awhile the station Chandīrī  
Pagan-full, the seat of hostile force ;  
By fighting, I vanquished its fort,  
The date was *Fath-i-dāru'l-ḥarb*.

(1. *Further description of Chandīrī.*)

Chandīrī is situated (in) rather good country,<sup>5</sup> having much running-water round about it. Its citadel is on a hill and inside it

<sup>1</sup> Bābur's account of the siege of Chandīrī is incomplete, inasmuch as it says nothing of the general massacre of pagans he has mentioned on f.272. Khwāfī Khān records the massacre, saying, that after the fort was surrendered, as was done on condition of safety for the garrison, from 3 to 4000 pagans were put to death by Bābur's troops on account of hostility shewn during the evacuation of the fort. The time assigned to the massacre is previous to the *jūhar* of 1000 women and children and the self-slaughter of men in Medinī Rāo's house, in which he himself died. It is not easy to fit the two accounts in ; this might be done, however, by supposing that a folio of Bābur's M.S. was lost, as others seem lost at the end of the narrative of this year's events (*q.v.*). The lost folio would tell of the surrender, one clearly affecting the mass of Rājput followers and not the chiefs who stood for victory or death and who may have made sacrifice to honour after hearing of the surrender. Bābur's narrative in this part certainly reads less consecutive than is usual with him ; something preceding his account of the *jūhar* would improve it, and would serve another purpose also, since mention of the surrender would fix a term ending the now too short time of under one hour he assigns as the duration of the fighting. If a surrender had been mentioned, it would be clear that his " 2 or 3 *garīs* " included the attacking and taking of the *dū-tahī* and down to the retreat of the Rājputs from the walls. On this Bābur's narrative of the unavailing sacrifice of the chiefs would follow in due order. Khwāfī Khān is more circumstantial than Firishta who says nothing of surrender or massacre, but states that 6000 men were killed fighting. Khwāfī Khān's authorities may throw light on the matter, which so far does not hang well together in any narrative, Bābur's, Firishta's, or Khwāfī Khān's. One would like to know what led such a large body of Rājputs to surrender so quickly ; had they been all through in favour of accepting terms ? One wonders, again, why from 3 to 4000 Rājputs did not put up a better resistance to massacre. Perhaps their assailants were Turks, stubborn fighters down to 1915 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> For suggestion about the brevity of this period, see last note.

<sup>3</sup> Clearly, without Bābur's taking part in the fighting.

<sup>4</sup> These words by *abjad* make 934. The Hai. M.S. mistakenly writes *Būd Chandīrī* in the first line of the quatrain instead of *Būd chandīrī*. Khwāfī Khān quotes the quatrain with slight variants.

<sup>5</sup> *Chandīrī ṭaurī wilāyat (dā?) wāqī' dūlāb tūr*, which seems to need *dā*, in, because the fort, and not the country, is described. Or there may be an omission *e.g.* of a second sentence about the walled-town (fort).

has a tank cut out of the solid rock. There is another large tank<sup>1</sup> at the end of the *dū-tahī* by assaulting which the fort was taken. All houses in Chandīrī, whether of high or low, are built of stone, those of chiefs being laboriously carved;<sup>2</sup> those of the lower classes are also of stone but are not carved. They are covered in with stone-slabs instead of with earthen tiles. In front of the fort are three large tanks made by former governors who threw dams across and made tanks round about it; their ground lies high.<sup>3</sup> It has a small river (*daryācha*), Betwa<sup>4</sup> by name, which may be some 3 *kurohs* (6 m.) from Chandīrī itself; its water is noted in Hindūstān as excellent and pleasant drinking. It is a perfect little river (*daryā-ghīna*). In its bed lie piece after piece of sloping rock (*qāālār*)<sup>5</sup> fit for making houses.<sup>6</sup> Chandīrī is 90 *kurohs* (180 m.) by road to the south of Āgra. In Chandīrī the altitude of the Pole-star (?) is 25 degrees.<sup>7</sup>

Fol. 335b.

(*m. Enforced change of campaign.*)

(*Jan. 30th—Jumāda I. 8th*) At dawn on Thursday we went round the fort and dismounted beside Mallū Khān's tank.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is the "Kīrat-sagar" of Cunningham's Plan of Chandīrī; it is mentioned under this name by Luard (*l.c.* i, 210). "Kīrat" represents Kīrti or Kīrti Singh who ruled in Gūālīār from 1455 to 1479 AD., there also making a tank (Luard, *l.c.* i, 232).

<sup>2</sup> For illustrative photographs see Luard, *l.c.* vol. i, part iv.

<sup>3</sup> I have taken this sentence to apply to the location of the tanks, but with some doubt; they are on the table-land.

<sup>4</sup> Bābur appears to have written Betwī, this form being in MSS. I have read the name to be that of the river Betwa which is at a considerable distance from the fort. But some writers dispraise its waters where Bābur praises.

<sup>5</sup> T. *qā* means a slope or slant; here it may describe tilted *strata*, such as would provide slabs for roofing and split easily for building purposes. (*See next note.*)

<sup>6</sup> *'imārat qilmāq munāsib*. This has been read to mean that the *qāālār* provide good sites (*Mems. & Méms.*), but position, distance from the protection of the fort, and the merit of local stone for building incline me to read the words quoted above as referring to the convenient lie of the stone for building purposes. (*See preceding note.*)

<sup>7</sup> *Chandīrī-dā judai* (*jadī-ning irtiqā'i yigirma-bish darja dūr*; Erskine, p. 378, *Chandēri* is situated in the 25th degree of N. latitude; de Courteille, ii, 334, *La hauteur du Capricorne à Tchanderi est de 25 degrés*. The latitude of Chandīrī, it may be noted, is 24° 43'. It does not appear to me indisputable that what Bābur says here is a statement of latitude. The word *judai* (or *jadī*) means both Pole-star and the Sign Capricorn. M. de Courteille translates the quoted sentence as I have done, but with Capricorn for Pole-star. My acquaintance with such expressions in French does not allow me to know whether his words are a statement of latitude. It occurs to me against this being so, that Bābur uses other words when he gives the latitude of Samarkand (f. 44b); and also that he has shewn attention to the Pole-star as a guide on a journey (f. 203, where he uses the more common word *Qutūb*). Perhaps he notes its lower altitude when he is far south, in the way he noted the first rise of Canopus to his view (f. 125).

<sup>8</sup> Mallū Khān was a noble of Mālwā, who became ruler of Mālwā in 1532 or 1533 AD. [?], under the style of Qādīr Shāh.

We had come to Chandīrī meaning, after taking it, to move against Rāising, Bhilsān, and Sārangpūr, pagan lands dependent on the pagan Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn, and, these taken, to move on Rānā Sangā in Chitūr. But as that bad news had come, the begs were summoned, matters were discussed, and decision made that the proper course was first to see to the rebellion of those malignants. Chandīrī was given to the Aḥmad Shāh already mentioned, a grandson of Sl. Nāṣīru'd-dīn ; 50 *laks* from it were made *khalsa* ;<sup>1</sup> Mullā Apāq was entrusted with its military-collectorate, and left to reinforce Aḥmad Shāh with from 2 to 3000 Turks and Hindūstānis.

Fol. 336.

(*Feb. 2nd*) This work finished, we marched from Mallū Khān's tank on Sunday the 11th of the first Jumāda, with the intention of return (north), and dismounted on the bank of the Burhānpūr-water.

(*Feb. 9th*) On Sunday again, Yakka Khwāja and Ja'far Khwāja were sent from Bāndīr to fetch boats from Kālpī to the Kanār-passage.

(*Feb. 22nd*) On Saturday the 24th of the month we dismounted at the Kanār-passage, and ordered the army to begin to cross.

(*n. News of the rebels.*)

News came in these days that the expeditionary force<sup>2</sup> had abandoned Qanūj also and come to Rāprī, and that a strong body of the enemy had assaulted and taken Shamsābād although Abū'l-muḥammad the lancer must have strengthened it.<sup>3</sup> There was delay of 3 or 4 days on one side or other of the river before the army got across. Once over, we moved march by march towards Qanūj, sending scouting braves (*qāzāq yigītlār*) ahead to get news of our opponents. Two or three marches from Qanūj, news was brought that Ma'rūf's son had fled on seeing the dark mass of the news-gatherers, and got away. Bīban, Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf, on hearing news of us, crossed Gang (Ganges) and seated themselves on its eastern bank opposite Qanūj, thinking to prevent our passage.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* paid direct to the royal treasury.

<sup>2</sup> This is the one concerning which bad news reached Bābur just before Chandīrī was taken.

<sup>3</sup> This presumably is the place offered to Medīnī Rāo (f. 333b), and Bikramājīt (f. 343).

(o. *A bridge made over the Ganges.*)

(*Feb. 27th*) On Thursday the 6th of the latter Jumāda we passed Qanūj and dismounted on the western bank of Gang. Some of the braves went up and down the river and took boats by force,<sup>1</sup> bringing in 30 or 40, large or small. Mir Muḥammad the raftsmen was sent to find a place convenient for making a bridge and to collect requisites for making it. He came back approving of a place about a *kuroh* (2 m.) below the camp. Energetic overseers were told off for the work. Ustād 'Alī-qulī placed the mortar for his stone-discharge near where the bridge was to be and shewed himself active in discharging it. Muṣṭafa Rūmī had the culverin-carts crossed over to an island below the place for the bridge, and from that island began a culverin-discharge. Excellent matchlock fire was made from a post<sup>2</sup> raised above the bridge. Malik Qāsim *Mughūl* and a very few men went across the river once or twice and fought excellently (*yakhshīlār aūrūshīlār*). With equal boldness Bābā Sl. and Darwīsh Sl. also crossed, but went with the insufficient number of from 10 to 15 men; they went after the Evening Prayer and came back without fighting, with nothing done; they were much blamed for this crossing of theirs. At last Malik Qāsim, grown bold, attacked the enemy's camp and, by shooting arrows into it, drew him out (?);<sup>3</sup> he came with a mass of men and an elephant, fell on Malik Qāsim and hurried him off. Malik Qāsim got into a boat, but before it could put off, the elephant came up and swamped it. In that encounter Malik Qāsim died.

Fol. 336b.

Fol. 337.

In the days before the bridge was finished Ustād 'Alī-qulī did good things in stone-discharge (*yakhshīlār tāsh aītī*), on the first day discharging 8 stones, on the second 16, and going on equally well for 3 or 4 days. These stones he discharged from the Ghāzī-mortar which is so-called because it was used in the battle with Rānā Sangā the pagan. There had been another and larger mortar which burst after discharging one stone.<sup>4</sup> The matchlockmen made a mass (*qālīn*) of discharges, bringing down many

<sup>1</sup> Obviously for the bridge.

<sup>2</sup> *m. hār* (see f. 333 n.). Here the word would mean befittingly a protected standing-place, a refuge, such as matchlockmen used (f. 217 and Index *s.n. arāba*).

<sup>3</sup> *sīghūrūrāi*, a vowel-variant, perhaps, of *sīghūrūrāi*.

<sup>4</sup> f. 331b. This passage shews that Bābur's mortars were few.



men and horses ; they shot also slave-workmen running scared away (?) and men and horses passing-by.<sup>1</sup>

(*March 11th*) On Wednesday the 19th of the latter Jumāda the bridge being almost finished, we marched to its head. The Afghāns must have ridiculed the bridge-making as being far from completion.<sup>2</sup>

(*March 12th*) The bridge being ready on Thursday, a small body of foot-soldiers and Lāhorīs went over. Fighting as small followed.

(*p. Encounter with the Afghāns.*)

(*March 13th*) On Friday the royal corps, and the right and left hands of the centre crossed on foot. The whole body of Afghāns, armed, mounted, and having elephants with them, attacked us. They hurried off our men of the left hand, but our centre itself (*i.e.* the royal corps) and the right hand stood firm, fought, and forced the enemy to retire. Two men from these divisions had galloped ahead of the rest ; one was dismounted and taken ; the horse of the other was struck again and again, had had enough,<sup>3</sup> turned round and when amongst our men, fell down. On that day 7 or 8 heads were brought in ; many of the enemy had arrow or matchlock wounds. Fighting went on till the Other Prayer. That night all who had gone across were made to return ; if (more) had gone over on that Saturday's eve,<sup>4</sup> most of the enemy would probably have fallen into our hands, but this was in my mind :—Last year we marched out of Sikrī to fight Rānā Sangā on Tuesday, New-year's-day, and crushed that rebel on Saturday ; this year we had marched to crush these rebels on Wednesday, New-year's-day,<sup>5</sup> and it would be one of singular things, if we beat them on Sunday. So thinking, we did not make the rest of

<sup>1</sup> *nūfūr qūl-lār-dīn ham karka bīla rah rawā kīshī u āt aīlār*, a difficult sentence.

<sup>2</sup> *Afghānlār kūprūk būghlāmāq-nī istib'ād qīlīb tamaskhur qīlūrlār aīkāndūr*. The ridicule will have been at slow progress, not at the bridge-making itself, since pontoon-bridges were common (Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*).

<sup>3</sup> *iūlāb* ; Pers. trs. *uīfān u khezān*, limping, or falling and rising, a translation raising doubt, because such a mode of progression could hardly have allowed escape from pursuers.

<sup>4</sup> Anglicé, on Friday night.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Persian calendar, New-year's-day is that on which the Sun enters Aries.

the army cross. The enemy did not come to fight on Saturday, but stood arrayed a long way off.

(*Sunday March 15th—Jumāda II. 23rd*) On this day the carts were taken over, and at this same dawn the army was ordered to cross. At beat of drum news came from our scouts that the enemy had fled. Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was ordered to lead his army in pursuit and the following leaders also were made pursuers who should move with the Sulṭān and not go beyond his word :—Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, Ḥusamu'd-dīn 'Alī (son) of Khalifa, Muḥibb-i-'alī (son) of Khalifa, Kūkī (son) of Bābā Qashqa, Dost-i-muḥammad (son) of Bābā Qashqa, Bāqī of Tāshkīnt, and Red Walī. I crossed at the Sunnat Prayer. The camels were ordered to be taken over at a passage seen lower down. That Sunday we dismounted on the bank of standing-water within a *kuroh* of Bangarmāwū.<sup>1</sup> Those appointed to pursue the Afghāns were not doing it well; they had dismounted in Bangarmāwū and were scurrying off at the Mid-day Prayer of this same Sunday.

Fol. 338.

(*March 16th—Jumāda II. 24th*) At dawn we dismounted on the bank of a lake belonging to Bangarmāwū.

(*q. Arrival of a Chaghatāi cousin.*)

On this same day (*March 16th*) Tūkhtā-būghā Sl. a son of my mother's brother (*dādā*) the Younger Khān (*Aḥmad Chaghatāi*) came and waited on me.

(*March 21st*) On Saturday the 29th of the latter Jumāda I visited Laknau, crossed the Gūi-water<sup>2</sup> and dismounted. This day I bathed in the Gūi-water. Whether it was from water getting into my ear, or whether it was from the effect of the climate, is not known, but my right ear was obstructed and for a few days there was much pain.<sup>3</sup>

(*r. The campaign continued.*)

One or two marches from Aūd (Oudh) some-one came from Chīn-tīmūr Sl. to say, "The enemy is seated on the far side of

<sup>1</sup> so-spelled in the Ḥai. MS. ; by de Courteille Banguermādū ; the two forms may represent the same one of the Arabic script.

<sup>2</sup> or Gūi, from the context clearly the Gumti. Jarrett gives Godi as a name of the Gumti ; Gūi and Godi may be the same word in the Arabic script.

<sup>3</sup> Some MSS. read that there was not much pain.

the river Sīrd[a ?] ;<sup>1</sup> let His Majesty send help." We detached a reinforcement of 1000 braves under Qarācha.

Fol. 338b. (*March 28th*) On Saturday the 7th of Rajab we dismounted 2 or 3 *kurohs* from Aūd above the junction of the Gagar (Gogra) and Sīrd[a]. Till today Shaikh Bāyazīd will have been on the other side of the Sīrd[a] opposite Aūd, sending letters to the Sulṭān and discussing with him, but the Sulṭān getting to know his deceitfulness, sent word to Qarācha at the Mid-day Prayer and made ready to cross the river. On Qarācha's joining him, they crossed at once to where were some 50 horsemen with 3 or 4 elephants. These men could make no stand ; they fled ; a few having been dismounted, the heads cut off were sent in.

Following the Sulṭān there crossed over Bī-khūb (var. Nī-khūb) Sl. and Tardī Beg (the brother) of Qūj Beg, and Bābā Chuhra (the Brave), and Bāqī *shaghāwal*. Those who had crossed first and gone on, pursued Shaikh Bāyazīd till the Evening Prayer, but he flung himself into the jungle and escaped. Chīn-tīmūr dismounted late on the bank of standing-water, rode on at midnight after the rebel, went as much as 40 *kurohs* (80 m.), and came to where Shaikh Bāyazīd's family and relations (*nisba* ?) had been ; they however must have fled. He sent gallopers off in all directions from that place ; Bāqī *shaghāwal* and a few braves drove the enemy like sheep before them, overtook the family and brought in some Afghān prisoners.

We stayed a few days on that ground (near Aūd) in order to settle the affairs of Aūd. People praised the land lying along the Sīrd[a] 7 or 8 *kurohs* (14-16 m.) above Aūd, saying it was hunting-ground. Mir Muḥammad the raftsman was sent out and returned after looking at the crossings over the Gagar-water (Gogra) and the Sīrd[a]-water (Chauka ?).

Fol. 339. (*April 2nd*) On Thursday the 12th of the month I rode out intending to hunt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I take this to be the Kali-Sarda-Chauka affluent of the Gogra and not its Sarju or Saru one. To so take it seems warranted by the context ; there could be no need for the fords on the Sarju to be examined, and its position is not suitable.

<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately no record of the hunting-expedition survives.

## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

Here, in all known texts of the *Bābur-nāma* there is a break of the narrative between April 2nd and Sep. 18th 1528 AD.—Jumāda II. 12th 934 AH. and Muḥarram 3rd 935 AH., which, whether intentional or accidental, is unexplained by Bābur's personal circumstances. It is likely to be due to a loss of pages from Bābur's autograph manuscript, happening at some time preceding the making of either of the Persian translations of his writings and of the Elphinstone and Ḥaidarābād transcripts. Though such a loss might have occurred easily during the storm chronicled on f. 376b, it seems likely that Bābur would then have become aware of it and have made it good. A more probable explanation of the loss is the danger run by Humāyūn's library during his exile from rule in Hindūstān, at which same time may well have occurred the seeming loss of the record of 936 and 937 AH.

### *a. Transactions of the period of the lacuna.*

Mr. Erskine notes (*Mems.* p. 381 n.) that he found the gap in all MSS. he saw and that historians of Hindūstān throw no light upon the transactions of the period. Much can be gleaned however as to Bābur's occupations during the 5½ months of the *lacuna* from his chronicle of 935 AH. which makes several references to occurrences of "last year" and also allows several inferences to be drawn. From this source it becomes known that the Afghān campaign the record of which is broken by the gap, was carried on and that in its course Bābur was at Jūn-pūr (f. 365), Chausa (f. 365b) and Baksara (f. 366–366b); that he swam the Ganges (f. 366b), bestowed Sarūn on a Farmūlī Shaikh-zāda (f. 374b and f. 377), negociated with Rānā Sangā's son Bikramājīt (f. 342b), ordered a Chār-bāgh laid out (f. 340), and was ill for 40 days (f. 346b). It may be inferred too that he visited Dūlpūr (f. 353b), recalled 'Askarī (f. 339), sent Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand on family affairs to Kābul (f. 345b), and was much pre-occupied by the

disturbed state of Kābul (*see* his letters to Humāyūn and Khwāja Kālan written in 935 AH.).<sup>1</sup>

It is not easy to follow the dates of events in 935 AH. because in many instances only the day of the week or a "next day" is entered. I am far from sure that one passage at least now found *s.a.* 935 AH. does not belong to 934 AH. It is not in the Ḥai. Codex (where its place would have been on f. 363*b*), and, so far as I can see, does not fit with the dates of 935 AH. It will be considered with least trouble with its context and my notes (*q.v.* f. 363*b* and ff. 366–366*b*).

*b. Remarks on the lacuna.*

One interesting biographical topic is likely to have found mention in the missing record, *viz.* the family difficulties which led to 'Askari's supersession by Kāmran in the government of Multān (f. 359).

Another is the light an account of the second illness of 934 AH. might have thrown on a considerable part of the Collection of verses already written in Hindūstān and now known to us as the *Rāmpūr Dīwān*. The *Bābur-nāma* allows the dates of much of its contents to be known, but there remain poems which seem prompted by the self-examination of some illness not found in the *B.N.* It contains the metrical version of Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh's *Wālidīyyah* of which Bābur writes on f. 346 and it is dated Monday Rabi' II. 15th 935 AH. (Dec. 29th 1528 AD.). I surmise that the reflective verses following the *Wālidīyyah* belong to the 40 days' illness of 934 AH. *i.e.* were composed in the period of the *lacuna*. The Collection, as it is in the "Rāmpūr Dīwān", went to a friend who was probably Khwāja Kalān; it may have been the only such collection made by Bābur. No other copy of it has so far been found. It has the character of an individual gift with verses specially addressed to its recipient. Any light upon it which may have vanished with pages of 934 AH. is an appreciable loss.

<sup>1</sup> One historian, Ahmad-i-yādgār states in his *Tārīkh-i-salātīn-i-afāghina* that Bābur went to Lāhor immediately after his capture of Chandrī, and on his return journey to Agra suppressed in the Panj-āb a rising of the Mundāhar (or, Mandhar) Rājput. His date is discredited by Bābur's existing narrative of 934 AH. as also by the absence in 935 AH. of allusion to either episode. My husband who has considered the matter, advises me that the Lāhor visit may have been made in 936 or early in 937 AH. [These are a period of which the record is lost or, less probably, was not written.]

935 A.H.—SEP. 15<sup>TH</sup> 1528 TO SEP. 5<sup>TH</sup> 1529 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

(a. *Arrivals at Court.*)

(*Sep. 18th*) On Friday the 3rd<sup>2</sup> of Muḥarram, 'Askarī whom I had summoned for the good of Multān<sup>3</sup> before I moved out for Chandīrī, waited on me in the private-house.<sup>4</sup>

(*Sep. 19th*) Next day waited on me the historian Khwānd-amīr, Maulānā Shihāb<sup>5</sup> the enigmatist, and Mīr Ibrāhīm the harper a relation of Yūnas-i-'alī, who had all come out of Herī long before, wishing to wait on me.<sup>6</sup>

(b. *Bābur starts for Gūālīār.*)<sup>7</sup>

(*Sep. 20th*) With the intention of visiting Gūālīār which in books they write Gālīūr,<sup>8</sup> I crossed the Jūn at the Other

<sup>1</sup> Elph. MS. f. 262; I. O. 215 f. 207b and 217 f. 234b; *Mems.* p. 382. Here the Elphinstone MS. recommences after a *lacuna* extending from Hai. MS. f. 312b.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix S:—*Concerning the dating of 935 A.H.*

<sup>3</sup> 'Askarī was now about 12 years old. He was succeeded in Multān by his elder brother Kāmṛān, transferred from Qandahār [Index; J.R.A.S. 1908 p. 829 para. (1)]. This transfer, it is safe to say, was due to Bābur's resolve to keep Kābul in his own hands, a resolve which his letters to Humāyūn (f. 348), to Kāmṛān (f. 359), and to Khwāja Kalān (f. 359) attest, as well as do the movements of his family at this time. What would make the stronger government of Kāmṛān seem now more "for the good of Multān" than that of the child 'Askarī are the Bilūchi incursions, mentioned somewhat later (f. 355b) as having then occurred more than once.

<sup>4</sup> This will be his own house in the Garden-of-eight-paradises, the Chār-bāgh begun in 932 A.H. (August 1526 A.D.).

<sup>5</sup> To this name Khwānd-amīr adds Aḥmadu'l-ḥaqīrī, perhaps a pen-name; he also quotes verses of Shihāb's (*Ḥabību's-siyar* lith. ed. iii, 350).

<sup>6</sup> Khwānd-amīr's account of his going into Hindūstān is that he left his "dear home" (Herāt) for Qandahār in mid-Shawwāl 933 A.H. (mid-July 1527 A.D.); that on Jumāda I. 10th 934 A.H. (Feb. 1st 1528 A.D.) he set out from Qandahār on the hazardous journey into Hindūstān; and that owing to the distance, heat, setting-in of the Rains, and breadth of rapid rivers, he was seven months on the way. He mentions no fellow-travellers, but he gives as the day of his arrival in Āgra the one on which Bābur says he presented himself at Court. (For an account of annoyances and misfortunes to which he was subjected under Aūzbeḡ rule in Herāt see *Journal des Savans*, July 1843, pp. 389, 393, Quatremère's art.)

<sup>7</sup> Concerning Gūālīār see Cunningham's *Archeological Survey Reports* vol. ii; Louis Rousselet's *L'Inde des Rajas*; Lepel Griffin's *Famous Monuments of Central India*, especially for its photographs; *Gazetteer of India*; Luard's *Gazetteer of Gwalior*, text and photographs; *Travels of Peter Mundy*, Hakluyt Society ed. R. C. Temple, ii, 61, especially for its picture of the fort and note (p. 62) enumerating early writers on Gūālīār. Of Persian books there is Jalāl Ḥīṣārī's *Tārikh-i-Gwālīāwar* (B.M. Add. 16,859) and Hīrāman's (B.M. Add. 16,709) unacknowledged version of it, which is of the B.M. MSS. the more legible.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this stands for Gwālīāwar, the form seeming to be used by Jalāl Ḥīṣārī, and having good traditional support (Cunningham p. 373 and Luard p. 228).

Prayer of Sunday the 5th of the month, went into the fort of Āgra to bid farewell to Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm and Khadija-sultān Begīm who were to start for Kābul in a few days, and got to horse. Muḥammad-i-zamān Mirzā asked for leave and stayed behind in Āgra. That night we did 3 or 4 *kurohs* (6–8 m.) of the road, dismounted near a large lake (*kūl*) and there slept.

(*Sep. 21st*) We got through the Prayer somewhat before time (*Muḥ. 6th*) and rode on, nooned<sup>1</sup> on the bank of the Gamb[h]ir-water<sup>2</sup>, and went on shortly after the Mid-day Prayer. On the way we ate<sup>3</sup> powders mixed with the flour of parched grain,<sup>4</sup> Mullā Rafi' having prepared them for raising the spirits. They were found very distasteful and unsavoury. Near the Other Prayer we dismounted a *kuroh* (2 m.) west of Dūlpūr, at a place where a garden and house had been ordered made.<sup>5</sup>

Fol. 339<sup>b</sup>.

(*c. Work in Dūlpūr (Dhūlpūr).*)

That place is at the end of a beaked hill,<sup>6</sup> its beak being of solid red building-stone (*'imārat-tāsh*). I had ordered the (beak of the) hill cut down (dressed down?) to the ground-level and that if there remained a sufficient height, a house was to be cut out in it, if not, it was to be levelled and a tank (*ḥauz*) cut out in its top. As it was not found high enough for a house, Ūstād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter was ordered to level it and cut out an octagonal, roofed tank. North of this tank the ground is thick with trees, mangoes, *jāman* (*Eugenia jambolana*), all sorts of trees; amongst them I had ordered a well made, 10 by 10; it was almost ready; its water goes to the afore-named tank. To the north of this tank Sl. Sikandar's dam is flung across (the valley); on it houses have been built, and above it the waters of the Rains gather into a great lake. On the east of this lake is a garden; I ordered a seat and four-pillared platform (*tālār*)

<sup>1</sup> *iūshlānīb*, *i.e.* they took rest and food together at mid-day.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the conjoined Gambhīr and Bāngānga which is crossed by the Āgra-Dhūlpūr road (*G. of I. Atlas*, Sheet 34).

<sup>3</sup> *āchtūq*, the plural of which shews that more than one partook of the powders (*safūf*).

<sup>4</sup> *T. tālgān*, *Hindī sattū* (Shaw). M. de Courteille's variant translation may be due to his reading for *tālgān*, *tālgāq*, *flot*, *agitation* (his *Dict. s.n.*) and *yīl*, wind, for *bīla*, with.

<sup>5</sup> in 933 A.H. f. 330<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> "Each beaked promontory" (Lycidas). Our name "Selsey-bill" is an English instance of Bābur's (not infrequent) *iūmshūg*, beak, bill of a bird.

to be cut out in the solid rock on that same side, and a mosque built on the western one. Fol. 340.

(*Sept. 22nd and 23rd—Muh. 7th and 8th*) On account of these various works, we stayed in Dūlpūr on Tuesday and Wednesday.

(*d. Journey to Gūālīār resumed.*)

(*Sep. 24th*) On Thursday we rode on, crossed the Chambal-river and made the Mid-day Prayer on its bank, between the two Prayers (the Mid-day and the Afternoon) bestirred ourselves to leave that place, passed the Kawārī and dismounted. The Kawārī-water being high through rain, we crossed it by boat, making the horses swim over.

(*Sep. 25th*) Next day, Friday which was 'Āshūr (*Muh. 10th*), we rode on, took our nooning at a village on the road, and at the Bed-time Prayer dismounted a *kuroh* north of Gūālīār, in a Chār-bāgh ordered made last year.<sup>1</sup>

(*Sep. 26th*) Riding on next day after the Mid-day Prayer, we visited the low hills to the north of Gūālīār, and the Praying-place, went into the fort<sup>2</sup> through the Gate called Hāti-pūl which joins Mān-sing's buildings ('*imārāt*<sup>3</sup>), and dismounted, close to the Other Prayer, at those ('*imārattār*)<sup>4</sup> of Rāja Bikramājīt in which Raḥīm-dād<sup>5</sup> had settled himself.

<sup>1</sup> No order about this Chār-bāgh is in existing annals of 934 AH. Such order is likely to have been given after Bābur's return from his operations against the Afghāns, in his account of which the annals of 934 AH. break off.

<sup>2</sup> The fort-hill at the northern end is 300 ft. high, at the southern end, 274 ft. ; its length from north to south is 1½ m. ; its breadth varies from 600 ft. opposite the main entrance (Hāti-pūl) to 2,800 ft. in the middle opposite the great temple (Sās-bhao). Cf. Cunningham p. 330 and Appendix R, *in loco*, for his Plan of Gūālīār.

<sup>3</sup> This Arabic plural may have been prompted by the greatness and distinction of Mān-sing's constructions. Cf. Index *s. nn.* *bagāt* and *bāghāt*.

<sup>4</sup> A translation point concerning the (Arabic) word '*imārāt*' is that the words "palace", "*palais*", and "residence" used for it respectively by Erskine, de Courteille, and, previous to the Hindūstān Section, by myself, are too limited in meaning to serve for Bābur's uses of it in Hindūstān ; and this (1) because he uses it throughout his writings for buildings under palatial rank (*e.g.* those of high and low in Chandīrī) ; (2) because he uses it in Hindūstān for non-residential buildings (*e.g.* for the Bādalgārh outwork, f. 341b, and a Hindū temple *ib.*) ; and (3) because he uses it for the word "building" in the term building-stone, f. 335b and f. 339b. *Building* is the comprehensive word under which all his uses of it group. For labouring this point a truism pleads my excuse, namely, that a man's vocabulary being characteristic of himself, for a translator to increase or diminish it is to intrude on his personality, and this the more when an autobiography is concerned. Hence my search here (as elsewhere) for an English grouping word is part of an endeavour to restrict the vocabulary of my translation to the limits of my author's.

<sup>5</sup> Jalāl *Ḥisrī* describes "Khawāja Raḥīm-dād" as a paternal-nephew of Mahdī Khwāja. Neither man has been introduced by Bābur, as it is his rule to introduce



To-night I elected to take opium because of ear-ache ; another reason was the shining of the moon.<sup>1</sup>

(e. *Visit to the Rājas' palaces.*)

(*Sep. 27th*) Opium sickness gave me much discomfort next day (*Muh. 12th*) ; I vomited a good deal. Sickness notwithstanding, I visited the buildings (*'imāratlār*) of Mān-sing and Bikramājīt thoroughly. They are wonderful buildings, entirely of hewn stone, in heavy and unsymmetrical blocks however.<sup>2</sup> Of all the Rājas' buildings Mān-sing's is the best and loftiest.<sup>3</sup> It is more elaborately worked on its eastern face than on the others. This face may be 40 to 50 *qārī* (yards) high,<sup>4</sup> and is entirely of hewn stone, whitened with plaster.<sup>5</sup> In parts it is four storeys high ; the lower two are very dark ; we went through them with

Fol. 340b.

when he first mentions a person of importance, by particulars of family, *etc.* Both men became disloyal in 935 A.H. (1529 A.D.) as will be found referred to by Bābur. Jalāl *Ḥiṣārī* supplements Bābur's brief account of their misconduct and Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghaus'* mediation in 936 A.H. For knowledge of his contribution I am indebted to my husband's perusal of the *Tārīkh-i-Gwāliṭwār*.

<sup>1</sup> Erskine notes that Indians and Persians regard moonshine as cold but this only faintly expresses the wide-spread fear of moon-stroke expressed in the Psalm (121 v. 6), "The Sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the Moon by night."

<sup>2</sup> *Agarcha lūk balūk u bī sīyāg*. Ilminsky [p. 441] has *balūk balūk* but without textual warrant and perhaps following Erskine, as he says, speaking generally, that he has done in case of need (Ilminsky's Preface). Both Erskine and de Courteille, working, it must be remembered, without the help of detailed modern descriptions and pictures, took the above words to say that the buildings were scattered and without symmetry, but they are not scattered and certainly Mān-sing's has symmetry. I surmise that the words quoted above do not refer to the buildings themselves but to the stones of which they are made. *T. lūk* means heavy, and *T. balūk* [block] means a thing divided off, here a block of stone. Such blocks might be *bī sīyāg*, *i.e.* irregular in size. To take the words in this way does not contradict known circumstances, and is verbally correct.

<sup>3</sup> The Rājas' buildings Bābur could compare were Rāja Karna (or Kirtī)'s [who ruled from 1454 to 1479 A.D.], Rāja Mān-sing's [1486 to 1516 A.D.], and Rāja Bikramājīt's [1516 to 1526 A.D. when he was killed at Panipat].

<sup>4</sup> The height of the eastern face is 100 ft. and of the western 60 ft. The total length from north to south of the outside wall is 300 ft. ; the breadth of the residence from east to west 160 ft. The 300 ft. of length appears to be that of the residence and service-courtyard (Cunningham p. 347 and Plate lxxxvii).

<sup>5</sup> *kaj bīla āgārītīb*. There can be little doubt that a white pediment would show up the coloured tiles of the upper part of the palace-walls more than would pale red sandstone. These tiles were so profuse as to name the building Chit Mandīr (Painted Mandīr). Guided by Bābur's statement, Cunningham sought for and found plaster in crevices of carved work ; from which one surmises that the white coating approved itself to successors of Mān-sing. [It may be noted that the word Mandīr is in the same case for a translator as is *'imārat* (f. 339b n.) since it requires a grouping word to cover its uses for temple, palace, and less exalted buildings.]

candles.<sup>1</sup> On one (or, every) side of this building are five cupolas<sup>2</sup> having between each two of them a smaller one, square after the fashion of Hindūstān. On the larger ones are fastened sheets of gilded copper. On the outside of the walls is painted-tile work, the semblance of plantain-trees being shewn all round with green tiles. In a bastion of the eastern front is the Hāti-pūl,<sup>3</sup> *hāti* being what these people call an elephant, *pūl*, a gate. A sculptured image of an elephant with two drivers (*fil-bān*)<sup>4</sup> stands at the out-going (*chīgīsh*) of this Gate; it is exactly like an elephant; from it the gate is called Hāti-pūl. A window in the lowest storey where the building has four, looks towards this elephant and gives a near view of it.<sup>5</sup> The cupolas which have been mentioned above are themselves the topmost stage (*murtaba*) of the building;<sup>6</sup> the sitting-rooms are on the second storey (*ṭabaqat*), in a hollow even;<sup>7</sup> they are rather airless places although Hindūstānī pains have been taken with them.<sup>8</sup> The buildings of Mān-sing's son Bikramājīt are in a central position (*āurta dā*) on the north side of the fort.<sup>9</sup> The son's buildings do not match the father's. He has made a great dome, very dark but growing lighter if one stays awhile in it.<sup>10</sup> Under it is a smaller building

Fol. 341.

<sup>1</sup> The lower two storeys are not only backed by solid ground but, except near the Hāti-pūl, have the rise of ground in front of them which led Bābur to say they were "even in a pit" (*chūqūr*).

<sup>2</sup> MSS. vary between *har* and *hīr*, every and one, in this sentence. It may be right to read *hīr*, and apply it only to the eastern façade as that on which there were most cupolas. There are fewer on the south side, which still stands (Luard's photo. No. 37).

<sup>3</sup> The ground rises steeply from this Gate to an inner one, called Hawā-pūl from the rush of air (*hawā*) through it.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham says the riders were the Rāja and a driver. Perhaps they were a mahout and his mate. The statue stood to the left on exit (*chīgīsh*).

<sup>5</sup> This window will have been close to the Gate where no mound interferes with outlook.

<sup>6</sup> Rooms opening on inner and open courts appear to form the third story of the residence.

<sup>7</sup> T. *chūqūr*, hollow, pit. This storey is dark and unventilated, a condition due to small windows, absence of through draught, and the adjacent mound. Cunningham comments on its disadvantages.

<sup>8</sup> *Agarīcha Hindūstānī takalluflār qīlō tūrlār walī bī hawālik-rāq yīrlār dūr*. Perhaps amongst the pains taken were those demanded for *punkhas*. I regret that Erskine's translation of this passage, so superior to my own in literary merit, does not suit the Turki original. He worked from the Persian translation, and not only so, but with a less rigid rule of translation than binds me when working on Bābur's *ipsissima verba* (*Mems.* p. 384; Cunningham p. 349; Luard p. 226).

<sup>9</sup> The words *āurtū dā* make apt contrast between the outside position of Mān-sing's buildings which helped to form the fort-wall, and Bikramājīt's which were further in except perhaps one wall of his courtyard (see Cunningham's Plate lxxxiii).

<sup>10</sup> Cunningham (p. 350) says this was originally a *bāra-dūri*, a twelve-doored open hall, and must have been light. His "originally" points to the view that the hall

into which no light comes from any side. When Raḥīm-dād settled down in Bikramājīt's buildings, he made a rather small hall [*kūchīkrāg tālārghina*] on the top of this dome.<sup>1</sup> From Bikramājīt's buildings a road has been made to his father's, a road such that nothing is seen of it from outside and nothing known of it inside, a quite enclosed road.<sup>2</sup>

Fol. 341b. After visiting these buildings, we rode to a college Raḥīm-dād had made by the side of a large tank, there enjoyed a flower-garden<sup>3</sup> he had laid out, and went late to where the camp was in the Chārbāgh.

(f. *Raḥīm-dād's flower-garden.*)

Raḥīm-dād has planted a great numbers of flowers in his garden (*bāghcha*), many being beautiful red oleanders. In these places the oleander-flower is peach,<sup>4</sup> those of Gūālīār are beautiful, deep red. I took some of them to Āgra and had them planted in gardens there. On the south of the garden is a large lake<sup>5</sup> where the waters of the Rains gather; on the west of it is a lofty idol-house,<sup>6</sup> side by side with which Śī. Shihābu'd-dīn Aīltmīsh (Altamsh) made a Friday mosque; this is a very lofty building (*'imārat*), the highest in the fort; it is seen, with the fort, from the Dūlpūr-hill (*cir.* 30 m. away). People say the stone for it was cut out and brought from the large lake above-mentioned. Raḥīm-dād has made a wooden (*yīghāch*) *tālār* in his garden, and

had been altered before Bābur saw it but as it was only about 10 years old at that time, it was in its first form, presumably. Perhaps Bābur saw it in a bad light. The dimensions Cunningham gives of it suggest that the high dome must have been frequently ill-lighted.

<sup>1</sup> The word *tālār*, having various applications, is not easy to match with a single English word, nor can one be sure in all cases what it means, a platform, a hall, or *etc.* To find an equivalent for its diminutive *tālār-ghina* is still more difficult. Raḥīm-dād's *tālār-ette* will have stood on the flat centre of the dome, raised on four pillars or perhaps with its roof only so-raised; one is sure there would be a roof as protection against sun or moon. It may be noted that the dome is not visible outside from below, but is hidden by the continuation upwards of walls which form a mean-looking parallelogram of masonry.

<sup>2</sup> T. *tūr yūl*. Concerning this hidden road see Cunningham p. 350 and Plate lxxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *bāghcha*. The context shews that the garden was for flowers. For Bābur's distinctions between *bāghcha*, *bāgh* and *baghāt*, see Index *s. nn.*

<sup>4</sup> *shaft-ālu* *i. e.* the rosy colour of peach-flowers, perhaps lip-red (Steingass). Bābur's contrast seems to be between those red oleanders of Hindūstān that are rosy-red, and the deep red ones he found in Gūālīār.

<sup>5</sup> *kul*, any large sheet of water, natural or artificial (Bābur). This one will be the Sūraj-kund (Sun-tank).

<sup>6</sup> This is the Telī Mandīr, or Telingana Mandīr (Luard). Cf. Cunningham, p. 356 and Luard p. 227 for accounts of it; and *G. of I. s. n.* Telīgarhi for Telī Rājas.

porches at the gates, which, after the Hindūstānī fashion, are somewhat low and shapeless.

(*g. The Urwāh-valley.*)

(*Sep. 28th*) Next day (*Muh. 13th*) at the Mid-day Prayer we rode out to visit places in Gūālīār we had not yet seen. We saw the 'imārat called Bādalgār<sup>1</sup> which is part of Mān-sing's fort (*qilā'*), went through the Hātī-pūl and across the fort to a place called Urwā (Urwāh), which is a valley-bottom (*qūl*) on its western side. Though Urwā is outside the fort-wall running along the top of the hill, it has two stages (*murtaba*) of high wall at its mouth. The higher of these walls is some 30 or 40 *qārī* (yards) high; this is the longer one; at each end it joins the wall of the fort. The second wall curves in and joins the middle part of the first; it is the lower and shorter of the two. This curve of wall will have been made for a water-thief;<sup>2</sup> within it is a stepped well (*wā'in*) in which water is reached by 10 or 15 steps. Above the Gate leading from the valley to this walled-well the name of Sl. Shihābu'd-dīn Ailtmish (Altamsh) is inscribed, with the date 630 (AH.—1233 AD.). Below this outer wall and outside the fort there is a large lake which seems to dwindle (at times) till no lake remains; from it water goes to the water-thief. There are two other lakes inside Urwā the water of which those who live in the fort prefer to all other.

Fol. 342.

Three sides of Urwā are solid rock, not the red rock of Biāna but one paler in colour. On these sides people have cut out idol-statues, large and small, one large statue on the south side being perhaps 20 *qārī* (yds.) high.<sup>3</sup> These idols are shewn quite

<sup>1</sup> This is a large outwork reached from the Gate of the same name. Bābur may have gone there specially to see the Gūjārī Mandir said by Cunningham to have been built by Mān-sing's Gūjār wife Mrīga-nayāna (fawn-eyed). Cf. Cunningham p. 351 and, for other work done by the same Queen, in the s.e. corner of the fort, p. 344; Luard p. 226. In this place "construction" would serve to translate 'imārat' (f. 340 n.).

<sup>2</sup> *āb-dūzd*, a word conveying the notion of a stealthy taking of the water. The walls at the mouth of Urwā were built by Altamsh for the protection of its water for the fort. The date Bābur mentions (a few lines further) is presumably that of their erection.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, who gives 57 ft. as the height of this statue, says Bābur estimated it at 20 *gaz*, or 40 ft., but this is not so. Bābur's word is not *gaz* a measure of 24 fingers-breadth, but *qārī*, the length from the tip of the shoulder to the fingers-ends; it is about 33 inches, not less, I understand. Thus stated in *qārīs* Bābur's estimate of the height comes very near Cunningham's, being a good 55 ft. to 57 ft. (I may note that I have usually translated *qārī* by "yard", as the yard is its nearest English equivalent. The Pers. trs. of the B.N. translates by *gaz*, possibly a larger *gaz* than that of 24 fingers-breadth *i.e.* inches.)

naked without covering for the privities. Along the sides of the two Urwā lakes 20 or 30 wells have been dug, with water from which useful vegetables (*sabzī kārlīklār*), flowers and trees are grown. Urwā is not a bad place; it is shut in (T. *tūr*); the idols are its defect; I, for my part, ordered them destroyed.<sup>1</sup>

Going out of Urwā into the fort again, we enjoyed the window<sup>2</sup> of the Sultānī-pūl which must have been closed through the pagan time till now, went to Raḥīm-dād's flower-garden at the Evening Prayer, there dismounted and there slept.

(h. *A son of Rānā Sangā negotiates with Bābur.*)

(*Sep. 29th*) On Tuesday the 14th of the month came people from Rānā Sangā's second son, Bikramājīt by name, who with his mother Padmāwatī was in the fort of Rantanbūr. Before I rode out for Gūālīār,<sup>3</sup> others had come from his great and trusted Hindū, Asūk by name, to indicate Bikramājīt's submission and obeisance and ask a subsistence-allowance of 70 *laks* for him; it had been settled at that time that *parganas* to the amount he asked should be bestowed on him, his men were given leave to go, with tryst for Gūālīār which we were about to visit. They came into Gūālīār somewhat after the trysting-day. The Hindū Asūk<sup>4</sup> is said to be a near relation of Bikramājīt's mother Padmāwatī; he, for his part, set these particulars forth father-like and son-like;<sup>5</sup> they, for theirs, concurring with him, agreed to wish me well and serve me. At the time when Sl. Maḥmūd (*K'hūljī*) was beaten by Rānā Sangā and fell into pagan captivity

Fol. 343-

<sup>1</sup> The statues were not broken up by Bābur's agents; they were mutilated; their heads were restored with coloured plaster by the Jains (Cunningham p. 365; Luard p. 228).

<sup>2</sup> *rosan* [or, *aūs:n*] . . . *tafarruj qīlīb*. Neither Cunningham nor Luard mentions this window, perhaps because Erskine does not; nor is this name of a Gate found. It might be that of the Dhonda-paur (Cunningham, p. 339). The 1st Pers. trs. [I. O. 215 f. 210] omits the word *rosan* (or, *aūs:n*); the 2nd [I. O. 217 f. 236b] renders it by *jā'ī*, place. Manifestly the Gate was opened by Bābur, but, presumably, not precisely at the time of his visit. I am inclined to understand that *rosan* . . . *tafarruj kardā* means enjoying the window formerly used by Muḥammadan rulers. If *aūs:n* be the right reading, its sense is obscure.

<sup>3</sup> This will have occurred in the latter half of 934 AH. of which no record is now known.

<sup>4</sup> He is mentioned under the name Asūk Mal *Rājpūt*, as a servant of Rānā Sangā by the *Mīrāt-i-sikandarī*, lith. ed. p. 161. In Bayley's Translation p. 273 he is called Awāsūk, manifestly by clerical error, the sentence being *az jānīb-i-au Asūk Mal Rājpūt dar ān (qīla') būda* . . .

<sup>5</sup> *ātā-līk, aūghūl-līk, i. e.* he spoke to the son as a father, to the mother as a son.

(925 AH.—1519 AD.) he possessed a famous crown-cap (*tāj-kula*) and golden belt, accepting which Sangā let him go free. That crown-cap and golden belt must have become Bikramājīt's; his elder brother Ratan-sī, now Rānā of Chītūr in his father's place, had asked for them but Bikramājīt had not given them up,<sup>1</sup> and now made the men he sent to me, speak to me about them, and ask for Biāna in place of Rantanbūr. We led them away from the Biāna question and promised Shamsābād in exchange for Rantanbūr. To-day (*Muh. 14th*) they were given a nine days' tryst for Biāna, were dressed in robes of honour, and allowed to go.

(i. *Hindū temples visited.*)

We rode from the flower-garden to visit the idol-houses of Gūālīār. Some are two, and some are three storeys high, each storey rather low, in the ancient fashion. On their stone plinths (*izāra*) are sculptured images. Some idol-houses, Colledge-fashion, have a portico, large high cupolas<sup>2</sup> and *madrāsa*-like cells, each topped by a slender stone cupola.<sup>3</sup> In the lower cells are idols carved in the rock.

Fol. 343b.

After enjoying the sight of these buildings (*'imārattār*) we left the fort by the south Gate,<sup>4</sup> made an excursion to the south, and went (north) to the Chār-bāgh Raḥim-dād had made over-against the Hāti-pūl.<sup>5</sup> He had prepared a feast of cooked-meat (*āsh*) for us and, after setting excellent food before us, made offering of a mass of goods and coin worth 4 *laks*. From his Chār-bāgh I rode to my own.

(j. *Excursion to a waterfall.*)

(*Sep. 30th.*) On Wednesday the 15th of the month I went to see a waterfall 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) to the south-east of Gūālīār. Less

<sup>1</sup> The *Mirāt-i-sikandarī* (lith. ed. p. 234, Bayley's trs. p. 372) confirms Bābur's statement that the precious things were at Bikramājīt's disposition. Perhaps they had been in his mother's charge during her husband's life. They were given later to Bahādūr Shāh of Gujrāt.

<sup>2</sup> The Telī Mandīr has not a cupola but a waggon-roof of South Indian style, whence it may be that it has the southern name Telingana, suggested by Col. Luard.

<sup>3</sup> See Luard's Photo. No. 139 and P. Mundy's sketch of the fort p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> This will be the Ghargarāj-gate which looks south though it is not at the south end of the fort-hill where there is only a postern approached by a flight of stone steps (Cunningham p. 332).

<sup>5</sup> The garden will have been on the lower ground at the foot of the ramp and not near the Hāti-pūl itself where the scarp is precipitous.

than that must have been ridden ;<sup>1</sup> close to the Mid-day Prayer we reached a fall where sufficient water for one mill was coming down a slope (*qūā*) an *arḡhamchī*<sup>2</sup> high. Below the fall there is a large lake ; above it the water comes flowing through solid rock ; there is solid rock also below the fall. A lake forms wherever the water falls. On the banks of the water lie piece after piece of rock as if for seats, but the water is said not always to be there. We sat down above the fall and ate *ma'jūn*, went up-stream to visit its source (*badayat*), returned, got out on higher ground, and stayed while musicians played and reciters repeated things (*nīma aītilār*). The Ebony-tree which Hindus call *tindū*, was pointed out to those who had not seen it before. We went down the hill and, between the Evening and Bed-time Prayers, rode away, slept at a place reached near the second watch (midnight), and with the on-coming of the first watch of day (6 a.m. *Muḡ. 16th-Oct. 1st*) reached the Chār-bāgh and dismounted.

Fol. 344.

(*k. Ṣalāḡu'd-dīn's birth-place.*)<sup>3</sup>

(*Oct. 2nd*) On Friday the 17th of the month, I visited the garden of lemons and pumeloes (*sadā-fal*) in a valley-bottom amongst the hills above a village called Sūkhjana (?)<sup>4</sup> which is Ṣalāḡu'd-dīn's birth-place. Returning to the Chār-bāgh, I dismounted there in the first watch.<sup>5</sup>

(*l. Incidents of the march from Gūālīār.*)

(*Oct. 4th*) On Sunday the 19th of the month, we rode before dawn from the Chār-bāgh, crossed the Kawārī-water and took our nooning (*tūshlāndūk*). After the Mid-day Prayer we rode on, at sunset passed the Chāmbal-water, between the Evening and Bed-time Prayers entered Dulpūr-fort, there, by lamp-light,

<sup>1</sup> *Mūndīn kīchīkrāḡ ātlānīlghān aīkāndūr*. This may imply that the distance mentioned to Bābur was found by him an over-estimate. Perhaps the fall was on the Mūrar-river.

<sup>2</sup> Rope (Shaw) ; *corde qui sert à attacher le bagage sur les chameaux* (de Courteille) ; a thread of 20 cubits long for weaving (Steingass) ; I have the impression that an *arḡhamchī* is a horse's tether.

<sup>3</sup> For information about this opponent of Bābur in the battle of Kānwa, see the *Asiatic Review*, Nov. 1915, H. Beveridge's art. *Silkhādī, and the Mirāt-i-sikandārī*.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel Luard has suggested to us that the Bābur-nāma word Sūkhjana may stand for Salwai or Sukhalhari, the names of two villages near Gūālīār.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably of night, 6-9 p.m., of Saturday Muḡ. 18th-Oct. 2nd.

visited a Hot-bath which Abū'l-faḥ had made, rode on, and dismounted at the dam-head where the new Chār-bāgh is in making.

(Oct. 5th) Having stayed the night there, at dawn (*Monday 20th*) I visited what places had been ordered made.<sup>1</sup> The face (*yūz*) of the roofed-tank, ordered cut in the solid rock, was not being got up quite straight; more stone-cutters were sent for who were to make the tank-bottom level, pour in water, and, by help of the water, to get the sides to one height. They got the face up straight just before the Other Prayer, were then ordered to fill the tank with water, by help of the water made the sides match, then busied themselves to smooth them. I ordered a water-chamber (*āb-khāna*) made at a place where it would be cut in the solid rock; inside it was to be a small tank also cut in the solid rock.

Fol. 344b.

(Here the record of 6 days is wanting.)<sup>2</sup>

(Oct. 12th?) To-day, Monday (27th?), there was a *ma'jūn* party. (Oct. 13th) On Tuesday I was still in that same place. (Oct. 14th) On the night of Wednesday,<sup>3</sup> after opening the mouth and eating something<sup>4</sup> we rode for Sikrī. Near the second watch (mid-night), we dismounted somewhere and slept; I myself could not sleep on account of pain in my ear, whether caused by cold, as is likely, I do not know. At the top of the dawn, we bestirred ourselves from that place, and in the first watch dismounted at

<sup>1</sup> f. 330b and f. 339b.

<sup>2</sup> Between the last explicit date in the text, *viz.* Sunday, Muḥ. 19th, and the one next following, *viz.* Saturday, Ṣafar 3rd, the diary of six days is wanting. The gap seems to be between the unfinished account of doings in Dhūlpūr and the incomplete one of those of the Monday of the party. For one of the intermediate days Bābur had made an appointment, when in Gūālīār (f. 343), with the envoys of Bikramājīt, the trysting-day being Muḥ. 23rd (*i.e.* 9 days after Muḥ. 14th). Bābur is likely to have gone to Biāna as planned; that envoys met him there may be surmised from the circumstance that when negotiations with Bikramājīt were renewed in Āgra (f. 345), two sets of envoys were present, a "former" one and a "later" one, and this although all envoys had been dismissed from Gūālīār. The "former" ones will have been those who went to Biāna, were not given leave there, but were brought on to Āgra; the "later" ones may have come to Āgra direct from Ranthambhor. It suits all round to take it that pages have been lost on which was the record of the end of the Dhūlpūr visit, of the journey to the, as yet unseen, fort of Biāna, of tryst kept by the envoys, of other doings in Biāna where, judging from the time taken to reach Sikrī, it may be that the *ma'jūn* party was held.

<sup>3</sup> Anglicé, Tuesday after 6 p.m.

<sup>4</sup> *aghaz aichib nīma yīb*, which words seem to imply the breaking of a fast.



the garden now in making at Sikrī. The garden-wall and well-buildings were not getting on to my satisfaction ; the overseers therefore were threatened and punished. We rode on from Sikrī between the Other and Evening Prayers, passed through Marhākūr, dismounted somewhere and slept.

(Oct. 15th) Riding on (Thursday 30th), we got into Āgra during the first watch (6-9 a.m.). In the fort I saw the honoured Khadija-sultān Begīm who had stayed behind for several reasons when Fakhr-i-jahān Begīm started for Kābul. Crossing Jūn (Jumna), I went to the Garden-of-eight paradises.<sup>1</sup>

(m. *Arrival of kinswomen.*)

(Oct. 17th) On Saturday the 3rd of Šafar, between the Other and Evening Prayers, I went to see three of the great-aunt begīms,<sup>2</sup> Gauhar-shād Begīm, Badi'ul-jamāl Begīm, and Āq Begīm, with also, of lesser begīms,<sup>3</sup> Sl. Maṣ'ūd Mirzā's daughter Khān-zāda Begīm, and Sultān-bakht Begīm's daughter, and my *yīnkā chīcha's* grand-daughter, that is to say, Zaināb-sultān Begīm.<sup>4</sup> They had come past Tūta and dismounted at a small standing-water (*qarā sū*) on the edge of the suburbs. I came back direct by boat.

Fol. 345.

(n. *Despatch of an envoy to receive charge of Ranthambhor.*)

(Oct. 19th) On Monday the 5th of the month of Šafar, Hāmūsī son of Diwa, an old Hindū servant from Bhīra, was joined with Bikramājīt's former<sup>5</sup> and later envoys in order that pact and agreement for the surrender of Ranthambūr and for the conditions of Bikramājīt's service might be made in their own (hindū) way and custom. Before our man returned, he was to see, and learn, and make sure of matters ; this done, if that

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the garden owes its name to the eight heavens or paradises mentioned in the Qurān (Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām s.n.* Paradise). Bābur appears to have reached Āgra on the 1st of Šafar; the 2nd may well have been spent on the home affairs of a returned traveller.

<sup>2</sup> The great, or elder trio were daughters of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mirzā, Bābur's paternal-aunts therefore, of his dutiful attendance on whom, Gul-badan writes.

<sup>3</sup> "Lesser," *i.e.* younger in age, lower in rank as not being the daughters of a sovereign Mirzā, and held in less honour because of a younger generation.

<sup>4</sup> Gul-badan mentions the arrival in Hindūstān of a khānim of this name, who was a daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Khān *Chaghatāi*, Bābur's maternal-uncle; to this maternal relationship the word *chīcha* (mother) may refer. *Yīnkā*, uncle's or elder brother's wife, has occurred before (ff. 192, 207), *chīcha* not till now.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. f. 344b and n. 5 concerning the surmised movements of this set of envoys.

person (*i.e.* Bikramājīt) stood fast to his spoken word, I, for my part, promised that, God bringing it aright, I would set him in his father's place as Rānā of Chitūr.<sup>1</sup>

(*Here the record of 3 days is wanting.*)

(*o. A levy on stipendiaries.*)

(*Oct. 22nd*) By this time the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrāhīm in Dihlī and Āgra was at an end. Royal orders were given therefore, on Thursday the 8th of Ṣafar, that each stipendiary (*wajhdār*) should drop into the Diwān, 30 in every 100 of his allowance, to be used for war-material and appliances, for equipment, for powder, and for the pay of gunners and matchlockmen.

(*p. Royal letters sent into Khurāsān.*)

(*Oct. 24th*) On Saturday the 10th of the month, Pay-master Si. Muḥammad's foot-man Shāh Qāsim who once before had taken letters of encouragement to kinsfolk in Khurāsān,<sup>2</sup> was sent to Herī with other letters to the purport that, through God's grace, our hearts were at ease in Hindūstān about the rebels and pagans of east and west; and that, God bringing it aright, we should use every means and assuredly in the coming spring should touch the goal of our desire.<sup>3</sup> On the margin of a royal letter sent to Aḥmad *Afshār* (*Turk*) a summons to Farīdūn the *qabūz*-player was written with my own hand.

Fol. 345b.

(*Here the record of 11 days is wanting.*)

<sup>1</sup> This promise was first proffered in Gūliār (f. 343).

<sup>2</sup> These may be Bāi-qarā kinsfolk or Mirān-shāhīs married to them. No record of Shāh Qāsim's earlier mission is preserved; presumably he was sent in 934 AH. and the record will have been lost with much more of that year's. Khwānd-amīr may well have had to do with this second mission, since he could inform Bābur of the discomfort caused in Herī by the near leaguer of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aūzbeq*.

<sup>3</sup> *Albatta aūsumīni har nū' qilib liḡurkūmiz dūr*. The following versions of this sentence attest its difficulty:—*Wāḡi'āi-i-bāburi*, 1st trs. I. O. 215 f. 212, *albatta khūdrū ba har nū'i ka bāshad dar ān khūb khwāhim rasāmad*; and 2nd trs. I. O. 217 f. 238b, *albatta dar har nu' karāu khūdrū mi rasānim*; *Memoirs* p. 388, "I would make an effort and return in person to Kābul"; *Mémoires* ii, 356, *je ferais tous mes efforts pour pousser en avant*. I surmise, as Pāyanda-i-ḥasan seems to have done (1st Pers. trs. *supra*), that the passage alludes to Bābur's aims in Hindūstān which he expects to touch in the coming spring. What seems likely to be implied is what Erskine says and more, *viz.* return to Kābul, renewal of conflict with the Aūzbeq and release of Khurāsān kin through success. As is said by Bābur immediately after this, *Tahmāsp* of Persia had defeated 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aūzbeq* before Bābur's letter was written.

In today's forenoon (*Tuesday 20th* ?) I made a beginning of eating quicksilver.<sup>1</sup>

(*q. News from Kābul and Khurāsān.*)<sup>2</sup>

(*Nov. 4th*) On Wednesday the 21st of the month (*Ṣafar*) a Hindūstānī foot-man (*pīāda*) brought dutiful letters (*'arzdāshklār*) from Kāmṛān and Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand. The Khwāja had reached Kābul on the 10th of *Zū'l-ḥijja*<sup>3</sup> and will have been anxious to go on<sup>4</sup> to Humāyūn's presence, but there comes to him a man from Kāmṛān, saying, "Let the honoured Khwāja come (to see me); let him deliver whatever royal orders there may be; let him go on to Humāyūn when matters have been talked over."<sup>5</sup> Kāmṛān will have gone into Kābul on the 17th of *Zū'l-ḥijja* (*Sep. 2nd*), will have talked with the Khwāja and, on the 28th of the same month, will have let him go on for Fort Victory (*Qila'-i-ṣafar*).

There was this excellent news in the dutiful letters received:— that Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp, resolute to put down the Aūzbeḡ,<sup>6</sup> had overcome and killed Rīnīsh (var. Zīnīsh) *Aūzbeḡ* in Dāmghān and made a general massacre of his people; that 'Ubaid Khān, getting sure news about the *Qizil-bāsh* (Red-head) had risen from round Herī, gone to Merv, called up to him there all the sultāns of Samarkand and those parts, and that all the sultāns of Mā warā'u'n-nahr had gone to help him.<sup>7</sup>

Fol. 346.

This same foot-man brought the further news that Humāyūn was said to have had a son by the daughter of Yādgār Ṭaghāi,

<sup>1</sup> *Simāb yimāknī bunyād qildim*, a statement which would be less abrupt if it followed a record of illness. Such a record may have been made and lost.

<sup>2</sup> The preliminaries to this now somewhat obscure section will have been lost in the gap of 934 A.H. They will have given Bābur's instructions to Khwāja Dost-i-khāwand and have thrown light on the unsatisfactory state of Kābul, concerning which a good deal comes out later, particularly in Bābur's letter to its Governor Khwāja Kalān. It may be right to suppose that Kāmṛān wanted Kābul and that he expected the Khwāja to bring him an answer to his request for it, whether made by himself or for him, through some-one, his mother perhaps, whom Bābur now sent for to Hindūstān.

<sup>3</sup> 934 A.H.—August 26th 1528 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> The useful verb *tībrāmāk* which connotes agitation of mind with physical movement, will here indicate anxiety on the Khwāja's part to fulfil his mission to Humāyūn.

<sup>5</sup> Kāmṛān's messenger seems to repeat his master's words, using the courteous imperative of the 3rd person plural.

<sup>6</sup> Though Bābur not infrequently writes of *e.g.* Bengalīs and Aūzbeḡs and Turks in the singular, the Bengalī, the Aūzbeḡ, the Turk, he seems here to mean 'Ubaidū'l-lāh, the then dominant Aūzbeḡ, although Kūchūm was Khāqān.

<sup>7</sup> This muster preceded defeat near Jām of which Bābur heard some 19 days later.

and that Kāmran was said to be marrying in Kābul, taking the daughter of his mother's brother Sl. 'Alī Mīrzā (*Beghīk*).<sup>1</sup>

(*r. Honours for an artificer.*)<sup>2</sup>

On this same day Sayyid Daknī of Shīrāz the diviner (*ghaiba-gar*?) was made to wear a dress of honour, given presents, and ordered to finish the arched (?) well (*khwāralīq-chāh*) as he best knew how.

(*s. The Wālidīyah-risāla (Parental-tract).*)

(*Nov. 6th*) On Friday the 23rd of the month<sup>3</sup> such heat<sup>4</sup> appeared in my body that with difficulty I got through the Congregational Prayer in the Mosque, and with much trouble through the Mid-day Prayer, in the book-room, after due time, and little by little. Thereafter<sup>5</sup> having had fever, I trembled less on Sunday (*Nov. 28th*). During the night of Tuesday<sup>6</sup> the 27th of the month Ṣafar, it occurred to me to versify (*naẓm qilmāq*)

<sup>1</sup> Humāyūn's wife was Bega Begīm, the later Hāji Begīm; Kāmran's bride was her cousin perhaps named Māh-afrūz (Gul-badan's *Humāyūn-nāma* f. 64b). The hear-say tense used by the messenger allows the inference that he was not accredited to give the news but merely repeated the rumour of Kābul. The accredited bearer-of-good-tidings came later (f. 346b).

<sup>2</sup> There are three enigmatic words in this section. The first is the Sayyid's cognomen; was he *daknī*, rather dark of hue, or *saknī*, one who knows, or *ruknī*, one who props, erects scaffolding, etc.? The second mentions his occupation; was he a *ghaiba-gar*, diviner (Erskine, water-finder), a *jība-gar*, cuirass-maker, or a *jībā-gar*, cistern-maker, which last suits with well-making? The third describes the kind of well he had in hand, perhaps the stone one of f. 353b; had it scaffolding, or was it for drinking-water only (*khwāralīq*); had it an arch, or was it chambered (*khwāsalīq*)? If Bābur's orders for the work had been preserved,—they may be lost from f. 344b, trouble would have been saved to scribes and translators, as an example of whose uncertainty it may be mentioned that from the third word (*khwāralīq*?) Erskine extracted "jets d'eau and artificial water-works", and de Courteille "*taillt dans le roc vij*".

<sup>3</sup> All Bābur's datings in Ṣafar are inconsistent with his of Muḥarram, if a Muḥarram of 30 days [as given by Gladwin and others].

<sup>4</sup> *ḥarārat*. This Erskine renders by "so violent an illness" (p. 388), de Courteille by "*une inflammation d'entrailles*" (ii, 357), both swayed perhaps by the earlier mention, on Muḥ. 10th, of Bābur's medicinal quick-silver, a drug long in use in India for internal affections (Erskine). Some such ailment may have been recorded and the record lost (f. 345b and n. 8), but the heat, fever, and trembling in the illness of Ṣafar 23rd, taken with the reference to last's year's attack of fever, all point to climatic fever.

<sup>5</sup> *aindīnī* (or, *ānūnī*). Consistently with the readings quoted in the preceding note, E. and de C. date the onset of the fever as Sunday and translate *aindīnī* to mean "two days after". It cannot be necessary however to specify the interval between Friday and Sunday; the text is not explicit; it seems safe to surmise only that the cold fit was less severe on Sunday; the fever had ceased on the following Thursday.

<sup>6</sup> Anglicé, Monday after 6 p.m.

the *Wālidīyyah-risāla* of his Reverence Khwāja ‘Ubaidu’l-lāh.<sup>1</sup> I laid it to heart that if I, going to the soul of his Reverence<sup>2</sup> for protection, were freed from this disease, it would be a sign that my poem was accepted, just as the author of the *Qaṣīdatu’l-būrda*<sup>3</sup> was freed from the affliction of paralysis when his poem had been accepted. To this end I began to versify the tract, using the metre<sup>4</sup> of Maulānā ‘Abdu’r-raḥīm *Jāmī’s Subḥatu’l-abrār* (Rosary of the Righteous). Thirteen couplets were made in that same night. I tasked myself not to make fewer than 10 a day; in the end one day had been omitted. While last year every time such illness had happened, it had persisted at least a month or 40 days,<sup>5</sup> this year, by God’s grace and his Reverence’s favour, I was free, except for a little depression (*afsurda*), on Thursday the 29th of the month (*Nov. 12th*). The end of versifying the contents of the tract was reached on Saturday the 8th of the first Rabi’ (*Nov. 20th*). One day 52 couplets had been made.<sup>6</sup>

Fol. 346b.

(*t. Troops warned for service.*)

(*Nov. 11th*) On Wednesday the 28th of the month royal orders were sent on all sides for the armies, saying, “God

<sup>1</sup> The *Rashahāt-i-‘ainu’l-hayāt* (Tricklings from the fountain of life) contains an interesting and almost contemporary account of the Khwāja and of his *Wālidīyyah-risāla*. A summary of what in it concerns the Khwāja can be read in the JRAS. Jan. 1916, H. Beveridge’s art. The tract, so far as we have searched, is now known in European literature only through Bābur’s metrical translation of it; and this, again, is known only through the *Rāmpūr Diwān*. [It may be noted here, though the topic belongs to the beginning of the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 2), that the *Rashahāt* contains particulars about Ahrārī’s interventions for peace between Bābur’s father ‘Umar Shaikh and those with whom he quarrelled.]

<sup>2</sup> “Here unfortunately, Mr. Elphinstone’s Turki copy finally ends” (Erskine), that is to say, the Elphinstone Codex belonging to the Faculty of Advocates of Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> This work, Al-buṣīrī’s famous poem in praise of the Prophet, has its most recent notice in M. René Basset’s article of the *Encyclopædia of Islām* (Leyden and London).

<sup>4</sup> Bābur’s technical terms to describe the metre he used are, *ramal musaddas makhbūn ‘ariz* and *sarb gāh abtar gāh makhbūn muhsūf wasn*.

<sup>5</sup> *aūtkān yīl (u) har maḥal mūnāq ‘arizāt kim būlāi*, from which it seems correct to omit the *u* (and), thus allowing the reference to be to last year’s illnesses only; because no record, of any date, survives of illness lasting even one full month, and no other year has a *lacuna* of sufficient length unless one goes improbably far back: for these attacks seem to be of Indian climatic fever. One in last year (934 A.H.) lasting 25–26 days (f. 331) might be called a month’s illness; another or others may have happened in the second half of the year and their record be lost, as several have been lost, to the detriment of connected narrative.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Erskine’s rendering (*Memoirs* p. 388) of the above section shows something of what is gained by acquaintance which he had not, with the *Rashahāt-i-‘ainu’l-hayāt* and with Bābur’s versified *Wālidīyyah-risāla*.

bringing it about, at an early opportunity my army will be got to horse. Let all come soon, equipped for service."

(Here the record of 9 days is wanting.)<sup>1</sup>

(u. *Messengers from Humāyūn.*)

(Nov. 21st) On Sunday the 9th of the first Rabi', Beg Muḥammad *ta'alluqchī*<sup>2</sup> came, who had been sent last year (934 AH.) at the end of Muḥarram to take a dress of honour and a horse to Humāyūn.<sup>3</sup>

(Nov. 22nd) On Monday the 10th of the month there came from Humāyūn's presence Wais *Lāgharī's* (son) Beg-gīna (Little Beg) and Biān Shaikh, one of Humāyūn's servants who had come as the messenger of the good tidings of the birth of Humāyūn's son whose name he gave as Al-amān. Shaikh Abū'l-wajd found *Shāh sa'ādatmand*<sup>4</sup> to be the date of his birth.

Fol. 347.

(v. *Rapid travel.*)

Biān Shaikh set out long after Beg-gīna. He parted from Humāyūn on Friday the 9th of Ṣafar (Oct. 23rd) at a place below Kishm called Dū-shamba (Monday); he came into Āgra on Monday the 10th of the first Rabi' (Nov. 23rd). He came very quickly! Another time he actually came from Qila'-i-zafar to Qandahār in 11 days.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This gap, like some others in the diary of 935 AH. can be attributed safely to loss of pages, because preliminaries are now wanting to several matters which Bābur records shortly after it. Such are (1) the specification of the three articles sent to Naṣrat Shāh, (2) the motive for the feast of f. 351b, (3) the announcement of the approach of the surprising group of envoys, who appear without introduction at that entertainment, in a manner opposed to Bābur's custom of writing, (4) an account of their arrival and reception.

<sup>2</sup> Land-holder (see *Hobson-Jobson s.n.* talookdar).

<sup>3</sup> The long detention of this messenger is mentioned in Bābur's letter to Humāyūn (f. 349).

<sup>4</sup> These words, if short *a* be read in Shāh, make 934 by *abjad*. The child died in infancy; no son of Humāyūn's had surviving childhood before Akbar was born, some 14 years later. Concerning Abū'l-wajd *Fārighī*, see *Ḥabību's-siyar*, lith. ed. ii, 347; *Muntakhabu'l-tawārīkh*, Bib. Ind. ed. i, 3; and *Index s.n.*

<sup>5</sup> I am indebted to Mr. A. E. Hinks, Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, for the following approximate estimate of the distances travelled by Biān Shaikh:—(a) From Kishm to Kābul 240 m.—from Kābul to Peshāwar 175 m.—from Peshāwar to Āgra (railroad distance) 759 m.—total 1174 m.; daily average *cir.* 38 miles; (b) Qila'-i-zafar to Kābul 264 m.—Kābul to Qandahār 316 m.—total 580 m.; daily average *cir.* 53 miles. The second journey was made probably in 913 AH. and to inform Bābur of the death of the Shāh of Badakhshān (f. 213b).

(w. *News of Ṭahmāsp's victory over the Aūzbeḡs.*)

Biān Shaikh brought news about Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp's advancing out of 'Irāq and defeating the Aūzbeḡ.<sup>1</sup> Here are his particulars:—Shāh-zāda Ṭahmāsp, having come out of 'Irāq with 40,000 men arrayed in Rūmī fashion of matchlock and cart,<sup>2</sup> advances with great speed, takes Baṣṭām, slaughters Rīnīsh (var. Zīnīsh) Aūzbeḡ and his men in Dāmghān, and from there passes right swiftly on.<sup>3</sup> Kīpīk Bī's son Qam̄bar-i-'alī Beḡ is beaten by one of the *Qizil-bāsh* (Red-head)'s men, and with his few followers goes to 'Ubaid Khān's presence. 'Ubaid Khān finds it undesirable to stay near Herī, hurriedly sends off gallopers to all the sultāns of Balkh, Ḥiṣār, Samarkand, and Tāshkend (Tāshkīnt) and goes himself to Merv. Sūnjak Sl.'s younger son Bārāq Sl. from Tāshkend, Kūchūm Khān, with (his sons) Abū-sa'īd Sl. and Pūlad Sl., and Jānī Beḡ Sl. with his sons, from Samarkand and Mīān-kāl, Mahdī Sl.'s and Ḥamza Sl.'s sons from Ḥiṣār, Kitīn-qarā Sl. from Balkh, all these sultāns assemble right swiftly in Merv. To them their informers (*īl-chī*) take news that Shāh-zāda, after saying, "'Ubaid Khān is seated near Herī with few men only," had been advancing swiftly with his 40,000 men, but that when he heard of this assembly (*i.e.* in Merv), he made a ditch in the meadow of Rādagān<sup>4</sup> and seated

Fol. 347b.

<sup>1</sup> On Muh. 10th 934 A.H.—Sep. 26th 1528 A.D. For accounts of the campaign see Rieu's Suppl. Persian Cat. under *Histories of Ṭahmāsp* (Churchill Collection); the *Ḥabībū's-siyar* and the '*Ālam-ārā'*-*abbāsi*, the last a highly rhetorical work. Bābur's accounts (Index s.n. Jām) are merely repetitions of news given to him; he is not responsible for mistakes he records, such as those of f. 354. [It must be mentioned that Mr. Erskine has gone wrong in his description of the battle, the starting-point of error being his reversal of two events, the encampment of Ṭahmāsp at Rādagān and his passage through Mashhad. A century ago less help, through maps and travel, was available than now.]

<sup>2</sup> *tuḡak u arūba*, the method of array Bābur adopted from the Rūmī-Persian model.

<sup>3</sup> Ṭahmāsp's main objective, aimed at earlier than the Aūzbeḡ muster in Merv, was Herāt, near which 'Ubaid Khān had been for 7 months. He did not take the shortest route for Mashhad, *viz.* the Dāmghān-Sabzawār-Nishāpūr road, but went from Dāmghān for Mashhad by way of Kālpūsh ('*Ālam-ārā'* lith. ed. p. 45) and Rādagān. Two military advantages are obvious on this route; (1) it approaches Mashhad by the descending road of the Kechef-valley, thus avoiding the climb into that valley by a pass beyond Nishāpūr on the alternative route; and (2) it passes through the fertile lands of Rādagān. [For Kālpūsh and the route see Fr. military map, Sheets Astarābād and Merv, n.e. of Baṣṭām.]

<sup>4</sup> 7 m. from Kushan and 86 m. from Mashhad. As Lord Curzon reports (*Persia*, ii, 120) that his interlocutors on the spot were not able to explain the word "Radkan," it may be useful to note here that the town seems to borrow its name from the ancient tower standing near it, the *Mil-i-rādagān*, or, as Réclus gives it, *Tour de méimandan*, both names meaning, Tower of the bounteous (or, beneficent, highly-distinguished,

himself there.<sup>1</sup> Here-upon the Aūzbegs, with entire disregard of their opponents,<sup>2</sup> left their counsels at this :—“Let all of us sultāns and khāns seat ourselves in Mashhad ;<sup>3</sup> let a few of us be told off with 20,000 men to go close to the Qizil-bāsh camp<sup>4</sup> and not let them put head out ; let us order magicians<sup>5</sup> to work their magic directly Scorpio appears ;<sup>6</sup> by this stratagem the enemy will be enfeebled, and we shall overcome.” So said, they march from Merv. Shāh-zāda gets out of Mashhad.<sup>7</sup> He confronts them near Jām-and-Khīrgird.<sup>8</sup> There defeat befalls the Aūzbeg side.<sup>9</sup> A mass of sultāns are overcome and slaughtered.

In one letter it (*khūd*) was written, “It is not known for certain that any sultān except Kūchūm Khān has escaped ; not a man who went with the army has come back up to now.” The

Fol. 348.

*etc.*) (Cf. Vullers Dict. *s.n.* *rād* ; Réclus' *L'Asie Antérieure* p. 219 ; and O'Donovan's *Merv Oasis*.) Perhaps light on the distinguished people (*rādagān*) is given by the *Dābistān's* notice of an ancient sect, the Rādīyān, seeming to be fire-worshippers whose chief was Rād-gūna, an eminently brave hero of the latter part of Jāmshīd's reign (800 B.C. ?). Of the town Rādagān Daulat Shāh makes frequent mention. A second town so-called and having a tower lies north of Ispahān.

<sup>1</sup> In these days of trench-warfare it would give a wrong impression to say that Ṭāhmāsp entrenched himself ; he did what Bābur did before his battles at Panīpat and Kānwa (*q.v.*).

<sup>2</sup> The Aūzbegs will have omitted from their purview of affairs that Ṭāhmāsp's men were veterans.

<sup>3</sup> The holy city had been captured by 'Ubaid Khān in 933 AH. (1525 AD.), but nothing in Biān Shaikh's narrative indicates that they were now there in force.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably the one in the Rādagān-meadow.

<sup>5</sup> using the *yada-tūsh* to ensure victory (Index *s.n.*).

<sup>6</sup> If then, as now, Scorpio's appearance were expected in Oct.-Nov., the Aūzbegs had greatly over-estimated their power to check Ṭāhmāsp's movements ; but it seems fairly clear that they expected Scorpio to follow Virgo in Sept.-Oct. according to the ancient view of the Zodiacal Signs which allotted two houses to the large Scorpio and, if it admitted Libra at all, placed it between Scorpio's claws (Virgil's *Georgics* i, 32 and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, ii, 195.—H. B.).

<sup>7</sup> It would appear that the Aūzbegs, after hearing that Ṭāhmāsp was encamped at Rādagān, expected to interpose themselves in his way at Mashhad and to get their 20,000 to Rādagān before he broke camp. Ṭāhmāsp's swiftness spoiled their plan ; he will have stayed at Rādagān a short time only, perhaps till he had further news of the Aūzbegs, perhaps also for commissariat purposes and to rest his force. He visited the shrine of Imām Reza, and had reached Jām in time to confront his adversaries as they came down to it from Zawarābād (Pilgrims'-town).

<sup>8</sup> or, Khīrjard, as many MSS. have it. It seems to be a hamlet or suburb of Jām. The '*Ālam-ārāi*' (lith. ed. p. 40) writes Khusrāu-jard-i-Jām (the Khusrāu-throne of Jām), perhaps rhetorically. The hamlet is Maulānā 'Abdu'r-rahmān *Jāmi's* birthplace (Daulat Shāh's *Tazkīrat*, E. G. Browne's ed. p. 483). Jām now appears on maps as Turbat-i-Shaikh Jāmi, the tomb (*turbar*) being that of the saintly ancestor of Akbar's mother Hamīda-bānu.

<sup>9</sup> The '*Ālam-ārāi*' (lith. ed. p. 31) says, but in grandiose language, that 'Ubaid Khān placed at the foot of his standard 40 of the most eminent men of Transoxania who prayed for his success, but that as his cause was not good, their supplications were turned backwards, and that all were slain where they had prayed.



sultāns who were in Ḥiṣār abandoned it. Ibrāhīm *Jānī*'s son Chalma, whose real name is Ismā'īl, must be in the fort.<sup>1</sup>

(*x. Letters written by Bābur.*)

(*Nov. 27th and 28th*) This same Biān Shaikh was sent quite quickly back with letters for Humāyūn and Kāmṛān. These and other writings being ready by Friday the 14th of the month (*Nov. 27th*) were entrusted to him, his leave was given, and on Saturday the 15th he got well out of Āgra.

#### COPY OF A LETTER TO HUMĀYŪN.<sup>2</sup>

"The first matter, after saying, 'Salutation' to Humāyūn whom I am longing to see, is this:—

Exact particulars of the state of affairs on that side and on this<sup>3</sup> have been made known by the letters and dutiful representations brought on Monday the 10th of the first Rabi' by Beg-gīna and Biān Shaikh.

(*Turki*) Thank God! a son is born to thee!  
A son to thee, to me a heart-enslaver (*dil-bandī*).

May the Most High ever allot to thee and to me tidings as joyful! So may it be, O Lord of the two worlds!"

"Thou sayest thou hast called him Al-amān; God bless and prosper this! Thou writest it so thyself (*i.e.* Al-amān), but hast

<sup>1</sup> Here the 1st Pers. trs. (I. O. 215 f. 214) mentions that it was Chalma who wrote and despatched the exact particulars of the defeat of the Aūzbegs. This information explains the presumption Bābur expresses. It shows that Chalma was in Ḥiṣār where he may have written his letter to give news to Humāyūn. At the time Biān Shaikh left, the Mīrzā was near Kīshm; if he had been the enterprising man he was not, one would surmise that he had moved to seize the chance of the sultāns' abandonment of Ḥiṣār, without waiting for his father's urgency (f. 348b). Whether he had done so and was the cause of the sultāns' flight, is not known from any chronicle yet come to our hands. Chalma's father Ibrāhīm *Jānī* died fighting for Bābur against Shaibāq Khān in 906AH. (f. 90b).

As the sense of the name-of-office Chalma is still in doubt, I suggest that it may be an equivalent of *afṭābachī*, bearer of the water-bottle on journeys. *T. chalma* can mean a water-vessel carried on the saddle-bow; one Chalma on record was a *safarchī*; if, in this word, *safar* be read to mean journey, an approach is made to *afṭābachī* (fol. 15b and note; Blochmann's A. -i- A. p. 378 and n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> The copies of Bābur's Turki letter to Humāyūn and the later one to Khwāja Kalān (f. 359) are in some MSS. of the Persian text translated only (I. O. 215 f. 214); in others appear in Turki only (I. O. 217 f. 240); in others appear in Turki and Persian (B. M. Add. 26,000 and I. O. 2989); while in Muḥ. Shīrāzī's lith. ed. they are omitted altogether (p. 228).

<sup>3</sup> Trans- and Cis-Hindukush. Pāyanda-ḥasan (in one of his useful glosses to the 1st Pers. trs.) amplifies here by "Khurāsān, Mā warā'u'n-nahr and Kābul".

over-looked that common people mostly say *alāmā* or *ailāmān*.<sup>1</sup> Fol. 348b.  
 Besides that, this *Al* is rare in names.<sup>2</sup> May God bless and prosper him in name and person ; may He grant us to keep *Al-amān* (peace) for many years and many decades of years !<sup>3</sup> May He now order our affairs by His own mercy and favour ; not in many decades comes such a chance as this ! ”<sup>4</sup>

“Again :—On Tuesday the 11th of the month (*Nov. 23rd*) came the false rumour that the Balkhīs had invited and were fetching *Qurbān*<sup>5</sup> into Balkh.”

“Again :—*Kāmṛān* and the *Kābul* begs have orders to join thee ; this done, move on *Ḥiṣār*, *Samarkand*, *Herī* or to whatever side favours fortune. Mayst thou, by God’s grace, crush foes and take lands to the joy of friends and the down-casting of adversaries ! Thank God ! now is your time to risk life and slash swords.<sup>6</sup> Neglect not the work chance has brought ; slothful life in retirement befits not sovereign rule :—

(*Persian*) He grips the world who hastens ;  
 Empire yokes not with delay ;  
 All else, confronting marriage, stops,  
 Save only sovereignty.<sup>7</sup>

If through God’s grace, the *Balkh* and *Ḥiṣār* countries be won and held, put men of thine in *Ḥiṣār*, *Kāmṛān*’s men in *Balkh*. Should *Samarkand* also be won, there make thy seat. *Ḥiṣār*, Fol. 349.  
 God willing, I shall make a crown-domain. Should *Kāmṛān* regard *Balkh* as small, represent the matter to me ; please God ! I will make its defects good at once out of those other countries.”

“Again :—As thou knowest, the rule has always been that

<sup>1</sup> The words *Bābur* gives as mispronunciations are somewhat uncertain in sense ; manifestly both are of ill-omen :—*Al-amān* itself [of which the *alāmā* of the *Hai.* MS. and *Ilminsky* may be an abbreviation,] is the cry of the vanquished, “Quarter ! mercy !” ; *ailāmān* and also *ālāman* can represent a *Turkmān* raider.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably amongst *Tīmūrids*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Bābur* here makes a placatory little joke.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* that offered by *Ṭahmāsp*’s rout of the *Aūzbegs* at *Jām*.

<sup>5</sup> He was an adherent of *Bābur*. Cf. f. 353.

<sup>6</sup> The plural “your” will include *Humāyūn* and *Kāmṛān*. Neither had yet shewn himself the heritor of his father’s personal dash and valour ; they had lacked the stress which shaped his heroism.

<sup>7</sup> My husband has traced these lines to *Niẓāmī*’s *Khusrau* and *Shīrīn*. [They occur on f. 256b in his MS. of 317 folios.] *Bābur* may have quoted from memory, since his version varies. The lines need their context to be understood ; they are part of *Shīrīn*’s address to *Khusrau* when she refuses to marry him because at the time he is fighting for his sovereign position ; and they say, in effect, that while all other work stops for marriage (*kadhkudāi*), kingly rule does not.

when thou hadst six parts, Kāmṛān had five ; this having been constant, make no change."

"Again :—Live well with thy younger brother. Elders must bear the burden !<sup>1</sup> I have the hope that thou, for thy part, wilt keep on good terms with him ; he, who has grown up an active and excellent youth, should not fail, for his part, in loyal duty to thee."<sup>2</sup>

Fol. 349<sup>b</sup>. "Again :—Words from thee are somewhat few ; no person has come from thee for two or three years past ; the man I sent to thee (Beg Muḥammad *ta'alluqchī*) came back in something over a year ; is this not so ?"

"Again :—As for the "retirement", "retirement", spoken of in thy letters,—retirement is a fault for sovereignty ; as the honoured (Sa'dī) says :—<sup>3</sup>

(*Persian*) If thy foot be fettered, choose to be resigned ;  
If thou ride alone, take thou thine own head.

No bondage equals that of sovereignty ; retirement matches not with rule."

"Again :—Thou hast written me a letter, as I ordered thee to do ; but why not have read it over ? If thou hadst thought of reading it, thou couldst not have done it, and, unable thyself to read it, wouldst certainly have made alteration in it. Though by taking trouble it can be read, it is very puzzling, and who ever saw an enigma in prose ?<sup>4</sup> Thy spelling, though not bad, is not quite correct ; thou writest *iltafāt* with *tā* (*iltafāt*) and *qūlinj* with *yā* (*qūlinj*?).<sup>5</sup> Although thy letter can be read if every sort

<sup>1</sup> *Aūlūghlār kūtārīmlik kīrāk* ; 2nd Pers. trs. *buzurgān bardāshṭ mī bāūd kardand*. This dictum may be a quotation. I have translated it to agree with Bābur's reference to the ages of the brothers, but *aūlūghlār* expresses greatness of position as well as seniority in age, and the dictum may be taken as a Turkī version of "Noblesse oblige", and may also mean "The great must be magnanimous". (Cf. de C.'s Dict. *s.r. kūtārīmlik*.) [It may be said of the verb *bardāshṭān* used in the Pers. trs., that Abū'l-fazl, perhaps translating *kūtārīmlik* reported to him, puts it into Bābur's mouth when, after praying to take Humāyūn's illness upon himself, he cried with conviction, "I have borne it away" (A. N. trs. H. B. i, 276).]

<sup>2</sup> If Bābur had foreseen that his hard-won rule in Hindūstān was to be given to the winds of one son's frivolities and the other's disloyalty, his words of scant content with what the Hindūstān of his desires had brought him, would have expressed a yet keener pain (*Rāmpūr Dīwān* E. D. R.'s ed. p. 15 l. 5 fr. ft.).

<sup>3</sup> *Bostān*, cap. *Advice of Noshirwān to Hurmuz* (H. B.).

<sup>4</sup> A little joke at the expense of the mystifying letter.

<sup>5</sup> For *yā*, Mr. Erskine writes *ōe*. What the mistake was is an open question ; I have guessed an exchange of *ī* for *ū*, because such an exchange is not infrequent amongst Turkī long vowels.

of pains be taken, yet it cannot be quite understood because of that obscure wording of thine. Thy remissness in letter-writing seems to be due to the thing which makes thee obscure, that is to say, to elaboration. In future write without elaboration ; use plain, clear words. So will thy trouble and thy reader's be less."

"Again:—Thou art now to go on a great business ;<sup>1</sup> take counsel with prudent and experienced begs, and act as they say. If thou seek to pleasure me, give up sitting alone and avoiding society. Summon thy younger brother and the begs twice daily to thy presence, not leaving their coming to choice ; be the business what it may, take counsel and settle every word and act in agreement with those well-wishers."

"Again :—Khwāja Kalān has long had with me the house-friend's intimacy ; have thou as much and even more with him. Fol. 350. If, God willing, the work becomes less in those parts, so that thou wilt not need Kāmran, let him leave disciplined men in Balkh and come to my presence."

"Again :—Seeing that there have been such victories, and such conquests, since Kābul has been held, I take it to be well-omened ; I have made it a crown-domain ; let no one of you covet it."

"Again :—Thou hast done well (*yakhshī qilib sīn*) ; thou hast won the heart of Sl. Wais ;<sup>2</sup> get him to thy presence ; act by his counsel, for he knows business."

"Until there is a good muster of the army, do not move out."

"Bīān Shaikh is well-appriized of word-of-mouth matters, and will inform thee of them. These things said, I salute thee and am longing to see thee."—

The above was written on Thursday the 13th of the first Rabi' (*Nov. 26th*). To the same purport and with my own hand, I wrote also to Kāmran and Khwāja Kalān, and sent off the letters (by Bīān Shaikh).

(Here the record fails from Rabi' 15th to 19th.)

(*y. Plans of campaign.*)

(*Dec. 2nd*) On Wednesday the 19th of the month (*Rabi' I.*) the mirzās, sulṭāns, Turk and Hind amīrs were summoned for

<sup>1</sup> That of reconquering Timūrid lands.

<sup>2</sup> of *Kūlāb* ; he was the father of Ḥaram Begīm, one of Gul-badan's personages.

Fol. 350b. counsel, and left the matter at this :—That this year the army must move in some direction ; that ‘Askarī should go in advance towards the East, be joined by the sultāns and amīrs from beyond Gang (Ganges), and march in whatever direction favoured fortune. These particulars having been written down, Ghīāṣu’d-dīn the armourer was given rendezvous for 16 days,<sup>1</sup> and sent galloping off, on Saturday the 22nd of the month, to the amīrs of the East headed by Sl. Junaid *Barlās*. His word-of-mouth message was, that ‘Askarī was being sent on before the fighting apparatus, culverin, cart and matchlock, was ready ; that it was the royal order for the sultāns and amīrs of the far side of Gang to muster in ‘Askarī’s presence, and, after consultation with well-wishers on that side, to move in whatever direction, God willing ! might favour fortune ; that if there should be work needing me, please God ! I would get to horse as soon as the person gone with the (16 days) tryst (*mī’ād*) had returned ; that explicit representation should be made as to whether the Bengali (Naṣrat Shāh) were friendly and single-minded ; that, if nothing needed my presence in those parts, I should not make stay, but should move elsewhere at once ;<sup>2</sup> and that after consulting with well-wishers, they were to take ‘Askarī with them, and, God willing ! settle matters on that side.

(Here the record of 5 days is wanting.)

(z. ‘Askarī receives the insignia and rank of a royal commander.)

Fol. 351. (Dec. 12th) On Saturday the 29th of the first Rabī’, ‘Askarī was made to put on a jewelled dagger and belt, and a royal dress of honour, was presented with flag, horse-tail standard, drum, a set (6–8) of *tīpūchāq* (horses), 10 elephants, a string of camels, one of mules, royal plenishing, and royal utensils. Moreover he was ordered to take his seat at the head of a *Dīwān*. On his mullā and two guardians were bestowed jackets having buttons<sup>3</sup> ; on his other servants, three sets of nine coats.

<sup>1</sup> *aūn altī gūnlūk m:ljar bīla*, as on f. 354b, and with exchange of T. *m:ljar* for P. *mī’ād*, f. 355b.

<sup>2</sup> Probably into Rājput lands, notably into those of Ṣalāhu’d-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> *tukhmaṭīq chakmānlār* ; as *tukhma* means both button and gold-embroidery, it may be right, especially of Hindūstān articles, to translate sometimes in the second sense.

(aa. *Bābur visits one of his officers.*)

(Dec. 13th) On Sunday the last day of the month (*Rabī' I. 30th*)<sup>1</sup> I went to Sl. Muḥammad *Bakhshī's* house. After spreading a carpet, he brought gifts. His offering in money and goods was more than 2 *laks*.<sup>2</sup> When food and offering had been set out, we went into another room where sitting, we ate *ma'jūn*. We came away at the 3rd watch (midnight ?), crossed the water, and went to the private house.

(bb. *The Āgra-Kābul road measured.*)

(Dec. 17th) On Thursday the 4th of the latter Rabī', it was settled that Chīqmāq Beg with Shāhī *ṭamghāchī's*<sup>3</sup> clerkship, should measure the road between Āgra and Kābul. At every 9th *kuroh* (cir. 18 m.), a tower was to be erected 12 *qārīs* high<sup>4</sup> and having a *chār-dara*<sup>5</sup> on the top; at every 18th *kuroh* (cir. 36 m.),<sup>6</sup> 6 post-horses were to be kept fastened; and arrangement was to be made for the payment of post-masters and grooms, and for horse-corn. The order was, "If the place where the horses are fastened up,<sup>7</sup> be near a crown-domain, let those there provide for the matters mentioned; if not, let the cost be charged on the beg

<sup>1</sup> These statements of date are consistent with Bābur's earlier explicit entries and with Erskine's equivalents of the Christian Era, but at variance with Gladwin's and with Wüstenfeldt's calculation that Rabī' II. 1st was Dec. 13th. Yet Gladwin (*Revenue Accounts*, ed. 1790 AD. p. 22) gives Rabī' I. 30 days. Without in the smallest degree questioning the two European calculations, I follow Bābur, because in his day there may have been allowed variation which finds no entry in methodical calendars. Erskine followed Bābur's statements; he is likely nevertheless to have seen Gladwin's book.

<sup>2</sup> Erskine estimated this at £500, but later cast doubts on such estimates as being too low (*History of India*, vol. i, App. D.).

<sup>3</sup> The bearer of the stamp (*ṭamghā*) who by impressing it gave quittance for the payment of tolls and other dues.

<sup>4</sup> Either 24 ft. or 36 ft. according to whether the short or long *qārī* be meant (*infra*). These towers would provide resting-place, and some protection against ill-doers. They recall the two *mīl-i-rādaqān* of Persia (f. 347 n. 9), the purpose of which is uncertain. Bābur's towers were not "*kos minārs*", nor is it said that he ordered each *kuroh* to be marked on the road. Some of the *kos minārs* on the "old Mughal roads" were over 30 ft. high; a considerable number are entered and depicted in the *Annual Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey for 1914 (Northern Circle, p. 45 and Plates 44, 45). Some at least have a *lower* chamber.

<sup>5</sup> Four-doored, open-on-all-sides. We have not found the word with this meaning in Dictionaries. It may translate H. *chaukanār*.

<sup>6</sup> Erskine makes 9 *kos* (*kurohs*) to be 13-14 miles, perhaps on the basis of the smaller *gaz* of 24 inches.

<sup>7</sup> *altī yām-ātī bāghlāghāilār* which, says one of Erskine's manuscripts, is called a *dāk-chokī*.

in whose *ṣargana* the post-house may be." Chīqmāq Beg got out of Āgra with Shāhī on that same day.

Fol. 351b.

(*Author's note on the kuroh.*) These *kurohs* were established in relation to the *mīl*, in the way mentioned in the *Mubīn* :—<sup>1</sup>

(*Turki*) Four thousand paces (*ḡadam*) are one *mīl* ;

Know that Hind people call this a *kuroh* ;

The pace (*ḡadam*) they say is a *ḡārī* and a half (36 in.) ;

Know that each *ḡārī* (24 in.) is six hand-breadths (*tūtām*)

That each *tūtām* is four fingers (*āīlīk*),

Each *āīlīk*, six barley-corns. Know this knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

The measuring-cord (*ṣanāb*)<sup>3</sup> was fixed at 40 *ḡārī*, each being the one-and-a-half *ḡārī* mentioned above, that is to say, each is 9 hand-breadths.

(*cc. A feast.*)

(*Dec. 18th*) On Saturday the 6th of the month (Rabī' II.) there was a feast<sup>4</sup> at which were present Qizil-bāsh (Red-head), and Aūzbeḡ, and Hindū envoys.<sup>5</sup> The Qizil-bāsh envoys sat

<sup>1</sup> Neither Erskine (*Mems.* p. 394), nor de Courteille (*Mems.* ii, 370) recognized the word *Mubīn* here, although each mentions the poem later (p. 431 and ii, 461), deriving his information about it from the *Akbar-nāma*, Erskine direct, de Courteille by way of the Turkī translation of the same *Akbar-nāma* passage, which Ilminsky found in Kehr's volume and which is one of the much discussed "Fragments", at first taken to be extra writings of Bābur's (cf. *Index in loco s.n.* Fragments). Ilminsky (p. 455) prints the word clearly, as one who knows it ; he may have seen that part of the poem itself which is included in Berésine's *Chrestomathie Turque* (p. 226 to p. 272), under the title *Fragmēt d'un poēme inconnu de Bābour*, and have observed that Bābur himself shews his title to be *Mubīn*, in the lines of his colophon (p. 271),

*Chū dīān ḡīdām āndā shar'iyāt,  
Nī 'ajab gar Mubīn dīdām āi ?*

(Since in it I have made exposition of Laws, what wonder if I named it *Mubīn* (exposition)?) Cf. *Translator's Note*, p. 437. [Berésine says (Ch. T.) that he prints half of his "unique manuscrit" of the poem.]

<sup>2</sup> The passage Bābur quotes comes from the *Mubīn* section on *tayammum mas'la* (purification with sand), where he tells his son sand may be used, *Sū yurāḡ būsā sīndīn air bīr mīl* (if from thee water be one *mīl* distant), and then interjects the above explanation of what the *mīl* is. Two lines of his original are not with the *Bābur-nāma*.

<sup>3</sup> The *ṣanāb* was thus 120ft. long. Cf. A. i-A. Jarrett i, 414 ; Wilson's *Glossary of Indian Terms* and Gladwin's *Revenue Accounts*, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Bābur's customary method of writing allows the inference that he recorded, in due place, the coming and reception of the somewhat surprising group of guests now mentioned as at this entertainment. That preliminary record will have been lost in one or more of the small gaps in his diary of 935 AH. The envoys from the Samarkand Aūzbegs and from the Persian Court may have come in acknowledgment of the *Fātḥ-nāma* which announced victory over Rānā Sangā ; the guests from Fārgḥāna will have accepted the invitation sent, says Gul-badan, "in all directions," after Bābur's defeat of Śī. Ibrāhīm Lūdī, to urge hereditary servants and Timūrid and Chīngiz-khānid kinsfolk to come and see prosperity with him now when "the Most High has bestowed sovereignty" (f. 293a ; Gul-badan's H.N. f. 11).

<sup>5</sup> Hindū here will represent Rājpūt. D'Herbélot's explanation of the name Qizil-bāsh (Red-head) comes in usefully here :—"KEZEL BASCH or KIZIL BASCH. Mot Turc qui signifie Tête rouge. Les Turcs appellent les Persans de ce nom, depuis qu'Ismaël Sofi, fondateur de la Dynastie des princes qui regnent aujourd'hui en Perse,

under an awning placed some 70–80 *qārīs*<sup>1</sup> on my right, of the begs Yūnas-i-'alī being ordered to sit with them. On my left the Aūzbeḡ envoys sat in the same way, of the begs 'Abdu'l-lāh being ordered to sit with them. I sat on the north side of a newly-erected octagonal pavilion (*tālār*) covered in with *khas*<sup>2</sup>. Five or six *qārīs* on my right sat Tūkhtā-būgha Sl. and 'Askarī, with Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd and Khwāja Kalān, descendants of his Reverence the Khwāja,<sup>3</sup> and Khwāja Chishtī (var. Ḥusainī), and Khalifa, together with the *ḥāfiẓes* and *mullās* dependent on the Khwājas who had come from Samarkand. Five or six *qārīs* on my left sat Muḥammad-i-zamān M. and Tāng-ātmīsh Sl.<sup>4</sup> Fol 352. and Sayyid Rafī', Sayyid Rūmī, Shaikh Abū'l-faḥ, Shaikh Jamālī, Shaikh Shihābu'd-dīn 'Arab and Sayyid Daknī (var. Zaknī, Ruknī). Before food all the sultāns, khāns, grantees, and amīrs brought gifts<sup>5</sup> of red, of white, of black,<sup>6</sup> of cloth and various other goods. They poured the red and white on a carpet I had ordered spread, and side by side with the gold and silver piled plenishing, white cotton piece-cloth and purses (*badra*) of money. While the gifts were being brought and before food, fierce camels and fierce elephants<sup>7</sup> were set to fight on an island opposite,<sup>8</sup> so too a few rams; thereafter wrestlers grappled. After the

commanda à ses soldats de porter un bonnet rouge autour duquel il y a une écharpe ou Turban à douze plis, en mémoire et à l'honneur des 12 Imams, successeurs d'Alī, desquels il prétendoit descendre. Ce bonnet s'appelle en Persan, *Tāj*, et fut institué l'an 907<sup>e</sup> de l'Hég." Ṭahmāsp himself uses the name Qizīl-bāsh; Bābur does so too. Other explanations of it are found (Steingass), but the one quoted above suits its use without contempt. (Cf. f. 354 n. 3).

<sup>1</sup> *cir.* 140–150 ft. or more if the 36 in. *qārī* be the unit.

<sup>2</sup> *Andropogon muricatus*, the scented grass of which the roots are fitted into window spaces and moistened to mitigate dry, hot winds. Cf. *Hobson-Jobson s.n. Cuscuss*.

<sup>3</sup> A nephew and a grandson of Ahrārī's second son Yahya (f. 347b) who had stood staunch to Bābur till murdered in 906 AH.—1500 AD. (80b). They are likely to be those to whom went a copy of the *Mubīn* under cover of a letter addressed to lawyers of Mā warā'u'n-nahr (f. 351 n. 1). The Khwājas were in Agra three weeks after Bābur finished his metrical version of their ancestor's *Wālidīyyah-risāla*; whether their coming (which must have been announced some time before their arrival), had part in directing his attention to the tract can only be surmised (f. 346).

<sup>4</sup> He was an Aūzbeḡ (f. 371) and from his association here with a Bāi-qarā, and, later with Qāsim-i-ḥusaini who was half Bāi-qarā, half Aūzbeḡ, seems likely to be of the latter's family (Index s. *mn.*).

<sup>5</sup> *sāchāq kīūrāi* (*kīlūrāi*?) No record survives to tell the motive for this feast; perhaps the gifts made to Bābur were congratulatory on the birth of a grandson, the marriage of a son, and on the generally-prosperous state of his affairs.

<sup>6</sup> Gold, silver and copper coins.

<sup>7</sup> Made so by *bhang* or other exciting drug.

<sup>8</sup> *arāl*, presumably one left by the winter-fall of the Jumna; or, a peninsula.



chief of the food had been set out, Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd and Khwāja Kalān were made to put on surtouts (*jabbah*) of fine muslin,<sup>1</sup> spotted with gold-embroidery, and suitable dresses of honour, and those headed by Mullā Farrūkh and Ḥāfiẓ<sup>2</sup> had jackets put on them. On Kūchūm Khān's envoy<sup>3</sup> and on Ḥasan *Chalabī's* younger brother<sup>4</sup> were bestowed silken head-wear (*bāshlīq*) and gold-embroidered surtouts of fine muslin, with suitable dresses of honour. Gold-embroidered jackets and silk coats were presented to the envoys of Abū-sa'īd Sl. (*Aūzbeḡ*), of Mihr-bān Khānīm and her son Pulād Sl., and of Shāh Ḥasan (*Arghūn*). The two Khwājas and the two chief envoys, that is to say Kūchūm Khān's retainer and Ḥasan *Chalabī's* younger brother, were presented with a silver stone's weight of gold and a gold stone's weight of silver.

(*Author's note on the Turkī stone-weight.*) The gold stone (*tāsh*) is 500 *miṣqāls*, that is to say, one Kābul *sīr*; the silver stone is 250 *miṣqāls*, that is to say, half a Kābul *sīr*.<sup>5</sup>

To Khwāja Mīr Sulṭān and his sons, to Ḥāfiẓ of Tāshkīnt, to Mullā Farrūkh at the head of the Khwājas' servants, and also to other envoys, silver and gold were given with a quiver.<sup>6</sup> Yādḡār-i-nāṣir<sup>7</sup> was presented with a dagger and belt. On Mīr

<sup>1</sup> Scribes and translators have been puzzled here. My guess at the Turkī clause is *aurang airalik kish jabbah*. In reading *muslin*, I follow Erskine who worked in India and could take local opinion; moreover gifts made in Āgra probably would be Indian.

<sup>2</sup> For one Ḥāfiẓ of Samarkand see f. 237b.

<sup>3</sup> Kūchūm was Khāqān of the Aūzbegs and had his seat in Samarkand. One of his sons, Abū-sa'īd, mentioned below, had sent envoys. With Abū-sa'īd is named Mihr-bān who was one of Kūchūm's wives; Pulād was their son. Mihr-bān was, I think, a half-sister of Bābur, a daughter of 'Umar Shaikh and Umid of Andijān (f. 9), and a full-sister of Nāṣir. No doubt she had been captured on one of the occasions when Bābur lost to the Aūzbegs. In 925 A.H.—1519 A.D. (f. 237b) when he sent his earlier *Dīwān* to Pulād Sl. (*Translator's Note*, p. 438) he wrote a verse on its back which looks to be addressed to his half-sister through her son.

<sup>4</sup> Tahmāsp's envoy; the title *Chalabī* shews high birth.

<sup>5</sup> This statement seems to imply that the weight made of silver and the weight made of gold were of the same size and that the differing specific gravity of the two metals,—that of silver being *cir.* 10 and that of gold *cir.* 20—gave their equivalents the proportion Bābur states. Persian Dictionaries give *sang* (*tāsh*), a weight, but without further information. We have not found mention of the *tāsh* as a recognized Turkī weight; perhaps the word *tāsh* stands for an ingot of unworked metal of standard size. (Cf. *inter alios libros*, A. -i- A. Blochmann p. 36, Codrington's *Musalman Numismatics* p. 117, concerning the *miṣqāl*, *dīnār*, etc.)

<sup>6</sup> *tarkūsh* *ōila*. These words are clear in the Hai. MS. but uncertain in some others. E. and de C. have no equivalent of them. Perhaps the coins were given by the quiverful; that a quiver of arrows was given is not expressed.

<sup>7</sup> Bābur's half-nephew; he seems from his name *Keepsake-of-nāṣir* to have been posthumous.

Muḥammad the raftsmen who was deserving of reward for the excellent bridge he had made over the river Gang (Ganges),<sup>1</sup> a dagger was bestowed, so too on the matchlockmen Champion [*pahlawān*] Ḥājī Muḥammad and Champion Buhlūl and on Walī the cheeta-keeper (*pārschī*); one was given to Ustād 'Alī's son also. Gold and silver were presented to Sayyid Daud *Garm-sīrī*. Jackets having buttons,<sup>2</sup> and silk dresses of honour were presented to the servants of my daughter Ma'ṣūma<sup>3</sup> and my son Hind-āl. Again:—presents of jackets and silk dresses of honour, of gold and silver, of plenishing and various goods were given to those from Andijān, and to those who had come from Sūkh and Hushīār, the places whither we had gone landless and homeless.<sup>4</sup> Gifts of the same kind were given to the servants of Qurbān and Shaikhī and the peasants of Kāhmarḍ.<sup>5</sup>

Fol. 353.

After food had been sent out, Hindūstānī players were ordered to come and show their tricks. Lūlīs came.<sup>6</sup> Hindūstānī performers shew several feats not shewn by (Tramontane) ones. One is this:—They arrange seven rings, one on the forehead, two on the knees, two of the remaining four on fingers, two on toes, and in an instant set them turning rapidly. Another is this:—Imitating the port of the peacock, they place one hand on the ground, raise up the other and both legs, and then in an instant make rings on the uplifted hand and feet revolve rapidly. Another is this:—In those (Tramontane) countries two people grip one another and turn two somersaults, but Hindūstānī *lūlīs*, clinging together, go turning over three or four times. Another is this:—a *lūlī* sets the end of a 12 or 14 foot pole on his middle and holds it upright while another climbs up it and does his tricks up there. Another is this:—A small *lūlī* gets up on a big one's head, and stands there upright while the big one moves

Fol. 353b.

<sup>1</sup> 934 AH.—1528 AD. (f. 336).

<sup>2</sup> Or, gold-embroidered.

<sup>3</sup> Wife of Muḥammad-i-zamān Mirzā.

<sup>4</sup> These Highlanders of Asfara will have come by invitation sent after the victory at Panīpat; their welcome shows remembrance of and gratitude for kindness received a quarter of a century earlier. Perhaps villagers from Dikh-kat will have come too, who had seen the Pādshāh run barefoot on their hills (*Index s.m.*).

<sup>5</sup> Here gratitude is shewn for protection given in 910 AH.—1504 AD. to the families of Bābur and his men when on the way to Kābul. Qurbān and Shaikhī were perhaps in Fort Ajar (f. 122b, f. 126).

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps these acrobats were gipsies.

quickly from side to side shewing his tricks, the little one shewing his on the big one's head, quite upright and without tottering. Many dancing-girls came also and danced.

A mass of red, white, and black was scattered (*sāchūldī*) on which followed amazing noise and pushing. Between the Evening and Bed-time Prayers I made five or six special people sit in my presence for over one watch. At the second watch of the day (9 a.m., *Sunday, Rabī' II. 7th*) having sat in a boat, I went to the Eight-Paradises.

(*dd. 'Askarī starts eastwards.*)

(*Dec. 20th*) On Monday (*8th*) 'Askarī who had got (his army) out (of Āgra) for the expedition, came to the Hot-bath, took leave of me and marched for the East.

(*ee. A visit to Dhūlpūr.*)

(*Dec. 21st*) On Tuesday (*Rabī' II. 9th*) I went to see the buildings for a reservoir and well at Dhūlpūr.<sup>1</sup> I rode from the (Āgra) garden at one watch (*paḥr*) and one *garī* (9.22 a.m.), and I entered the Dhūlpūr garden when 5 *garīs* of the 1st night-watch (*pās*)<sup>2</sup> had gone (7.40 p.m.).<sup>3</sup>

(*Dec. 23rd*) On Thursday the 11th day of the month the stone-well (*sangīn-chāh*), the 26 rock-spouts (*tāsh-tār-nau*) and rock-pillars (*tāsh-sitūn*), and the water-courses (*ārīqlār*) cut on the solid slope (*yak pāra qā*) were all ready.<sup>4</sup> At the 3rd watch (*paḥr*) of this same day preparation for drawing water from the well was made. On account of a smell (*aīd*) in the water, it was ordered, for prudence' sake, that they should turn the well-wheel without rest for 15 days-and-nights, and so draw off the water. Gifts were made to the stone-cutters, and labourers, and the whole body of workmen in the way customary for master-workmen and wage-earners of Āgra.

Fol. 354.

<sup>1</sup> This may be the one with which Sayyid Daknī was concerned (f. 346).

<sup>2</sup> Bābur obviously made the distinction between *paḥr* and *pās* that he uses the first for day-watches, the second for those of the night.

<sup>3</sup> Anglicé, Tuesday, Dec. 21st; by Muḥammadan plan, Wednesday 22nd. Dhūlpūr is 34 m. s. of Āgra; the journey of 10 hrs. 20 m. would include the nooning and the time taken in crossing rivers.

<sup>4</sup> The well was to fill a cistern; the 26 spouts with their 26 supports were to take water into (26?) conduits. Perhaps *tāsh* means that they were hewn in the solid rock; perhaps that they were on the outer side of the reservoir. They will not have been built of hewn stone, or the word would have been *sangīn* or *tāshdān*.

(*Dec. 24th*) We rode from Dūlpūr while one *garī* of the 1st watch (*pahr*) of Friday remained (*cir.* 8.40a.m.), and we crossed the river (Jumna) before the Sun had set.

(*Here the record of 3 days is wanting.*)<sup>1</sup>

(*ff. A Persian account of the battle of Jām.*)

(*Dec. 28th*) On Tuesday the 16th of the month (*Rabī' II.*) came one of Dīv Sl.'s<sup>2</sup> servants, a man who had been in the fight between the Qizil-bāsh and Aūzbeḡ, and who thus described it:—The battle between the Aūzbeḡs and Turkmāns<sup>3</sup> took place on 'Āshūr-day (*Muh. 10th*) near Jām-and-Khīrgird.<sup>4</sup> They fought from the first dawn till the Mid-day Prayer. The Aūzbeḡs were 300,000; the Turkmāns may have been (as is said?) 40 to 50,000; he said that he himself estimated their dark mass at 100,000; on the other hand, the Aūzbeḡs said they themselves were 100,000. The Qizil-bāsh leader (*ādam*) fought after arraying cart, culverin and matchlockmen in the Rūmī fashion, and after protecting himself.<sup>5</sup> Shāh-zāda<sup>6</sup> and Jūha Sl. stood behind the carts with 20,000 good braves. The rest of the beḡs were posted right and left beyond the carts. Fol. 354b. These the Aūzbeḡ beat at once on coming up, dismounted and

<sup>1</sup> One occupation of these now blank days is indicated by the date of the "*Rāmpūr Dīwān*", Thursday Rabī' II. 15th (Dec. 27th).

<sup>2</sup> The demon (or, athlete) sultān of Rumelia (*Rūmlū*); once Ṭahmāsp's guardian (*Tazkirat-i-Ṭahmāsp*, Bib. Ind. ed. Phillott, p. 2). Some writers say he was put to death by Ṭahmāsp (*at.* 12) in 933 AH.; if this were so, it is strange to find a servant described as his in 935 AH. (An account of the battle is given in the *Sharaf-nāma*, written in 1005 AH. by Sharaf Khān who was reared in Ṭahmāsp's house. The book has been edited by Veliaminof-Zernof and translated into French by Charmoy; cf. Trs. vol. ii, part i, p. 555.—*H. Beveridge.*)

<sup>3</sup> This name, used by one who was with the Shāh's troops, attracts attention; it may show the composition of the Persian army; it may differentiate between the troops and their "Qizil-bāsh leader".

<sup>4</sup> Several writers give Sārū-qamsh (Charmoy, *roseau jaune*) as the name of the village where the battle was fought; Sharaf Khān gives 'Umarābād and mentions that after the fight Ṭahmāsp spent some time in the meadow of Sārū-qamsh.

<sup>5</sup> The number of Ṭahmāsp's guns being a matter of interest, reference should be made to Bābur's accounts of his own battles in which he arrayed in Rūmī (Ottoman) fashion; it will then be seen that the number of carts does not imply the number of guns (Index *s.n. arāba*, cart).

<sup>6</sup> This cannot but represent Ṭahmāsp who was on the battle-field (*see* his own story *infra*). He was 14 years old; perhaps he was called Shāh-zāda, and not Shāh, on account of his youth, or because under guardianship (?). Readers of the Persian histories of his reign may know the reason. Bābur hitherto has always called the boy Shāh-zāda; after the victory at Jām, he styles him Shāh. Jūha Sl. (*Taklū*) who was with him on the field, was Governor of Ispahān.

overcame many, making all scurry off. He then wheeled to the (Qizil-bāsh) rear and took loot in camel and baggage. At length those behind the carts loosed the chains and came out. Here also the fight was hard. Thrice they flung the Aūzbeḡ back; by God's grace they beat him. Nine sultāns, with Kūchūm Khān, 'Ubaid Khān and Abū-sa'īd Sl. at their head, were captured; one, Abū-sa'īd Sl. is said to be alive; the rest have gone to death.<sup>1</sup> 'Ubaid Khān's body was found, but not his head. Of Aūzbeḡs 50,000, and of Turkmāns 20,000 were slain.<sup>2</sup>

(Here matter seems to have been lost.)<sup>3</sup>

(*gg. Plan of campaign.*)

(*Dec. 30th*) On this same day (Thursday *Rab' II. 18th*) came Ghīāṣu'd-dīn the armourer<sup>4</sup> who had gone to Jūna-pūr (Jūnpūr) with tryst of 16 days,<sup>5</sup> but, as Sl. Juṇaid and the rest had led

<sup>1</sup> If this Persian account of the battle be in its right place in Bābur's diary, it is singular that the narrator should be so ill-informed at a date allowing facts to be known; the three sultāns he names as killed escaped to die, Kūchūm in 937 A.H.—1530 A.D., Abū-sa'īd in 940 A.H.—1533 A.D., 'Ubaid in 946 A.H.—1539 A.D. (Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*). It would be natural for Bābur to comment on the mistake, since envoys from two of the sultāns reported killed, were in Āgra. There had been time for the facts to be known: the battle was fought on Sep. 26th; the news of it was in Āgra on Nov. 23rd; envoys from both adversaries were at Bābur's entertainment on Dec. 19th. From this absence of comment and for the reasons indicated in note 3 (*infra*), it appears that matter has been lost from the text.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭahmāsp's account of the battle is as follows (*T.-i-T.* p. 11):—"I marched against the Aūzbeḡs. The battle took place outside Jām. At the first onset, Aūzbeḡ prevailed over Qizil-bāsh. Ya'qūb Sl. fled and Sl. Wālāma *Taklū* and other officers of the right wing were defeated and put to flight. Putting my trust in God, I prayed and advanced some paces. . . . One of my body-guard getting up with 'Ubaid struck him with a sword, passed on, and occupied himself with another. Qūlij Bahādur and other Aūzbeḡs carried off the wounded 'Ubaid; Kūchūm Khān and Janī Khān Beg, when they became aware of this state of affairs, fled to Merv. Men who had fled from our army rejoined us that day. That night I spent on the barren plain (*ṣāhrā*). I did not know what had happened to 'Uhaid. I thought perhaps they were devising some stratagem against me." The 'A.-'A. says that 'Ubaid's assailant, on seeing his low stature and contemptible appearance, left him for a more worthy foe.

<sup>3</sup> Not only does some comment from Bābur seem needed on an account of deaths he knew had not occurred, but loss of matter may be traced by working backward from his next explicit date (*Friday 19th*), to do which shows fairly well that the "same day" will be not Tuesday the 16th but Thursday the 18th. Ghīāṣu'd-dīn's reception was on the day preceding Friday 19th, so that part of Thursday's record (as shewn by "on this same day"), the whole of Wednesday's, and (to suit an expected comment by Bābur on the discrepant story of the Aūzbeḡ deaths) part of Tuesday's are missing. The gap may well have contained mention of Ḥasan *Chalabī*'s coming (f. 357), or explain why he had not been at the feast with his younger brother.

<sup>4</sup> *qūrchī*, perhaps body-guard, life-guardsmen.

<sup>5</sup> As on f. 350b (*q. v.* p. 628 n. 1) *ain alī gūnlūk būljār* (or, *m. ljār*) *ḡila*.

out their army for Kharīd,<sup>1</sup> he (Ghīāṣu'd-dīn) was not able to be back at the time fixed.<sup>2</sup> Sl. Junaid said, by word-of-mouth, "Thank God! through His grace, no work worth the Pādshāh's attention has shewn itself in these parts; if the honoured Mirzā ('Askārī) come, and if the sultāns, khāns and amīrs here-about be ordered to move in his steps, there is hope that everything in these parts will be arranged with ease." Though such was Sl. Fol. 355. Junaid's answer, yet, as people were saying that Mullā Muḥammad Maḥḥab, who had been sent as envoy to Bengal after the Holy-battle with Sangā the Pagan,<sup>3</sup> would arrive today or tomorrow, his news also was awaited.

(*Dec. 31st*) On Friday the 19th of the month I had eaten *ma'jūn* and was sitting with a special few in the private house, when Mullā Maḥḥab who had arrived late, that is to say, in the night of Saturday,<sup>4</sup> came and waited on me. By asking one particular after another, we got to know that the attitude of the Bengālī<sup>5</sup> was understood to be loyal and single-minded.

(*Jan. 2nd*) On Sunday (*Rabī' II. 21st*), I summoned the Turk and Hind amīrs to the private house, when counsel was taken and the following matters were brought forward:—As the Bengālī (Naṣrat Shāh) has sent us an envoy<sup>6</sup> and is said to be loyal and single-minded, to go to Bengal itself would be improper; if the move be not on Bengal, no other place on that side has treasure helpful for the army; several places to the west are both rich and near,

(*Turkī*) Abounding wealth, a pagan people, a short road;  
Far though the East lie, this is near.

At length the matter found settlement at this:—As our westward road is short, it will be all one if we delay a few days, so that our minds may be at ease about the East. Again Ghīāṣu'd-dīn Fol. 355b. the armourer was made to gallop off, with tryst of 20 days,<sup>7</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> A sub-division of the Ballia district of the United Provinces, on the right bank of the Ghogrā.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* in 16 days; he was 24 or 25 days away.

<sup>3</sup> The envoy had been long in returning; Kanwā was fought in March, 1527; it is now the end of 1528 AD.

<sup>4</sup> Rabī' II. 20th—January 1st 1529 AD.; Anglicé, Friday, after 6 p.m.

<sup>5</sup> This "Bengālī" is territorial only; Naṣrat Shāh was a Sayyid's son (f. 271).

<sup>6</sup> Ismā'īl Mītā (f. 357) who will have come with Mullā Maḥḥab.

<sup>7</sup> *mī'ad*, cf. f. 350b and f. 354b. Ghīāṣu'd-dīn may have been a body-guard.

convey written orders to the eastern amīrs for all the sulṭāns, khāns, and amīrs who had assembled in 'Askari's presence, to move against those rebels.<sup>1</sup> The orders delivered, he was to return by the trysted day with what ever news there might be.

(*hh. Balūchī incursions.*)

In these days Muḥammadi Kūkūldāsh made dutiful representation that again Balūchīs had come and overrun several places. Chīn-tīmūr Sl. was appointed for the business ; he was to gather to his presence the amīrs from beyond Sīhrind and Samāna and with them, equipped for 6 months, to proceed against the Balūchīs ; namely, such amīrs as 'Ādil Sulṭān, Sl. Muḥ. *Dūldāz*, Khusrau Kūkūldāsh, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, 'Abdu'l-'azīz the Master-of-the-horse, Sayyid 'Alī, Walī Qīzil, Qarācha, Halāhil, 'Āshiq the House-steward, Shaikh 'Alī, Kitta (*Beg Kuhbur*), Gujūr Khān, Ḥasan 'Alī *Sīrwādī*. These were to present themselves at the Sulṭān's call and muster and not to transgress his word by road or in halt.<sup>2</sup> The messenger<sup>3</sup> appointed to carry these orders was 'Abdu'l-ghaffār ; he was to deliver them first to Chīn-tīmūr Sl., then to go on and shew them to the afore-named begs who were to present themselves with their troops at whatever place the Sulṭān gave rendezvous (*būljār*) ;<sup>4</sup> 'Abdu'l-ghaffār himself was to remain with the army and was to make dutiful representation of slackness or carelessness if shewn by any person soever ; this done, we should remove the offender from the circle of the approved (*muwajjah-jirgāsī*) and from his country or *pargana*. These orders having been entrusted to 'Abdu'l-ghaffār, words-of-mouth were made known to him and he was given leave to go.

(*The last explicit date is a week back.*)

<sup>1</sup> Lūdi Afghāns and their friends, including Bīban and Bāyazīd.

<sup>2</sup> *yūllūq tūrālīk* ; *Memoirs*, p. 398, "should act in every respect in perfect conformity to his commands" ; *Mémoires* ii, 379, "chacun suivant son rang et sa dignité."

<sup>3</sup> *tawāchī*. Bābur's uses of this word support Erskine in saying that "the *tawāchī* is an officer who corresponds very nearly to the Turkish *chāwush*, or special messenger" (Zenker, p. 346, col. iii) "but he was also often employed to act as a commissary for providing men and stores, as a commissioner in superintending important affairs, as an aide-de-camp in carrying orders, etc."

<sup>4</sup> Here the Hāi. MS. has the full-vowelled form, *būljār*. Judging from what that Codex writes, *būljār* may be used for a rendezvous of troops, *mīljār* or *bīljār* for any other kind of tryst (f. 350, p. 628 n. 1 ; Index s.m.), also for a shelter.

*(ii. News of the loss of Bihār reaches Dhūlpūr.)*

(*Jan. 9th*) On the eve of Sunday the 28th of the month (*Rabī' II.*) we crossed the Jūn (Jumna) at the 6th *garī* of the 3rd watch (2.15 a.m.) and started for the Lotus-garden of Dūlpūr. The 3rd watch was near <sup>1</sup> (Sunday mid-day) when we reached it. Places were assigned on the border of the garden, where begs and the household might build or make camping-grounds for themselves.

(*Jan. 13th*) On Thursday the 3rd of the first Jumāda, a place was fixed in the s.e. of the garden for a Hot-bath ; the ground was to be levelled ; I ordered a plinth (?) (*kursī*) erected on the levelled ground, and a Bath to be arranged, in one room of which was to be a reservoir 10 × 10.

On this same day Khalīfa sent from Āgra dutiful letters of Qāzī Jīā and Bīr-sing Deo, saying it had been heard said that Iskandar's son Maḥmūd (*Lūdī*) had taken Bihār (town). This news decided for getting the army to horse.

(*Jan. 14th*) On Friday (*Jumāda I. 4th*), we rode out from the Lotus-garden at the 6th *garī* (8.15 a.m.) ; at the Evening Prayer we reached Āgra. We met Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā on the road who would have gone to Dūlpūr, Chīn-tīmūr also who must have been coming into Agra.<sup>2</sup>

(*Jan. 15th*) On Saturday (*5th*) the counselling begs having been summoned, it was settled to ride eastwards on Thursday the 10th of the month (*Jan. 21st*).

*(jj. News of Badakhshān.)*

On this same Saturday letters came from Kābul with news that Humāyūn, having mustered the army on that side (Tramontana), and joined Sl. Wais to himself, had set out with 40,000 men for Samarkand ;<sup>3</sup> on this Sl. Wais' younger brother

Fol. 356b.

<sup>1</sup> *yāvūshūb ādī*, which I translate in accordance with other uses of the verb, as meaning approach, but is taken by some other workers to mean "near its end".

<sup>2</sup> Though it is not explicitly said, Chīn-tīmūr may have been met with on the road ; as the "also" (*ham*) suggests.

<sup>3</sup> To the above news the *Akbar-nāma* adds the important item reported by Humāyūn, that there was talk of peace. Bābur replied that, if the time for negotiation were not past, Humāyūn was to make peace until such time as the affairs of Hindūstān were cleared off. This is followed in the A.N. by a seeming quotation from Bābur's letter, saying in effect that he was about to leave Hindūstān, and that his followers in Kābul and Tramontana must prepare for the expedition against Samarkand which would be made on his own arrival. None of the above matter is now with the *Bābur-nāma* ;



Shāh-qūlī goes and enters Ḥiṣār, Tarsūn Muḥammad leaves Tirmiz, takes Qabādiān and asks for help; Humāyūn sends Tūlik Kūkūldāsh and Mīr Khwurd<sup>1</sup> with many of his men and what Mughūls there were, then follows himself.<sup>2</sup>

(Here 4 days record is wanting.)

(kk. *Bābur starts for the East.*)

Fol. 357. (Jan. 20th) On Thursday the 10th of the first Jumāda, I set out for the East after the 3rd *garī* (cir. 7.10a.m.), crossed Jūn by boat a little above Jalisir, and went to the Gold-scattering-garden.<sup>3</sup> It was ordered that the standard (*tūgh*), drum, stable and all the army-folk should remain on the other side of the water, opposite to the garden, and that persons coming for an interview<sup>4</sup> should cross by boat.

(ll. *Arrivals.*)

(Jan. 22nd) On Saturday (12th) Ismā'īl Mītā, the Bengal envoy brought the Bengalī's offering (Naṣrat Shāh's), and waited on me in Hindūstān fashion, advancing to within an arrow's flight, making his reverence, and retiring. They then put on him the due dress of honour (*khi'lat*) which people call \* \* \* \*<sup>5</sup>, and

either it was there once, was used by Abū'l-faḥl and lost before the Persian trss. were made; or Abū'l-faḥl used Bābur's original, or copied, letter itself. That desire for peace prevailed is shewn by several matters:—Ṭahmāsp, the victor, asked and obtained the hand of an Aūzbeḡ in marriage; Aūzbeḡ envoys came to Āgra, and with them Turk Khwājas having a mission likely to have been towards peace (f. 357b); Bābur's wish for peace is shewn above and on f. 359 in a summarized letter to Humāyūn. (Cf. Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajarat-i-Turk* [*Histoire des Mongols*, Désmaisons' trs. p. 216]; *Akbar-nāma*, H.B.'s trs. i, 270.)

A here-useful slip of reference is made by the translator of the *Akbar-nāma* (l.c. n. 3) to the Fragment (*Mémoires* ii, 456) instead of to the *Bābur-nāma* translation (*Mémoires* ii, 381). The utility of the slip lies in its accompanying comment that de C.'s translation is in closer agreement with the *Akbar-nāma* than with Bābur's words. Thus the *Akbar-nāma* passage is brought into comparison with what it is now safe to regard as its off-shoot, through Turki and French, in the Fragment. When the above comment on their resemblance was made, we were less assured than now as to the genesis of the Fragment (Index s.n. Fragment).

<sup>1</sup> Hind-āl's guardian (G. B.'s *Humāyūn-nāma* trs. p. 106, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Nothing more about Humāyūn's expedition is found in the B.N.; he left Badakhshān a few months later and arrived in Āgra, after his mother (f. 380b), at a date in August of which the record is wanting.

<sup>3</sup> under 6 m. from Āgra. Gul-badan (f. 16) records a visit to the garden, during which her father said he was weary of sovereignty. Cf. f. 331b, p. 589 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *kūrniṣh kīlkān kīshīlār.*

<sup>5</sup> MSS. vary or are indecisive as to the omitted word. I am unable to fill the gap. Erskine has "*Sir Māwīneh* (or hair-twist)" (p. 399), De Courteille, *Sir-mouīneh* (ii, 382). *Mūīna* means ermine, sable and other fine fur (*Shamsū'l-lūghāt*, p. 274, col. 1).

brought him before me. He knelt thrice in our fashion, advanced, handed Naṣrat Shāh's letter, set before me the offering he had brought, and retired.

(*Jan. 24th*) On Monday (*14th*) the honoured Khwāja 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq having arrived, I crossed the water by boat, went to his tents and waited on him.<sup>1</sup>

(*Jan. 25th*) On Tuesday (*15th*) Ḥasan *Chalabī* arrived and waited on me.<sup>2</sup>

(*mm. Incidents of the eastward march.*)

On account of our aims (*chāpdūq*) for the army,<sup>3</sup> some days were spent in the Chār-bāgh.

(*Jan. 27th*) On Thursday the 17th of the month, that ground was left after the 3rd *garī* (7.10a.m.), I going by boat. It was dismounted 7 *kurohs* (14 m.) from Āgra, at the village of Anwār.<sup>4</sup>

(*Jan. 30th*) On Sunday (*Jumāda I. 20th*), the Aūzbeḡ envoys were given their leave. To Kūchūm Khān's envoy Amīn Mirzā were presented a dagger with belt, cloth of gold,<sup>5</sup> and 70,000 *tankas*.<sup>6</sup> Abū-sa'īd's servant Mullā Ṭaghāī and the servants of Mihr-bān Khānim and her son Pūlād Sl. were made to put on dresses of honour with gold-embroidered jackets, and were presented also with money in accordance with their station. Fol. 357b.

(*Jan. 31st?*) Next morning<sup>7</sup> (*Monday 21st?*) leave was given to Khwāja 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq for stay in Āgra and to Khwāja Yahyā's

<sup>1</sup> His brother Ḥazrat Makhdūmī Nūrā (Khwāja Khāwand Maḥmūd) is much celebrated by Ḥaidar Mirzā, and Bābur describes his own visit in the words he uses of the visit of an inferior to himself. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. pp. 395, 478; *Akbar-nāma* trs., i, 356, 360.

<sup>2</sup> No record survives of the arrival of this envoy or of why he was later in coming than his brother who was at Bābur's entertainment. Cf. f. 361b.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably this refers to the appliances mentioned on f. 350b.

<sup>4</sup> f. 332, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *sarbaft m:l.k.* Amongst gold stuffs imported into Hindūstān, Abū'l-fazl mentions *mīlak* which may be Bābur's cloth. It came from Turkistān (A.-i-A. Blochmann, p. 92 and n.).

<sup>6</sup> A *tang* is a small silver coin of the value of about a penny (Erskine).

<sup>7</sup> *tānglāsī*, lit. at its dawning. It is not always clear whether *tānglāsī* means, Anglicé, next dawn or day, which here would be Monday, or whether it stands for the dawn (daylight) of the Muḥammadan day which had begun at 6 p. m. on the previous evening, here Sunday. When Bābur records, e.g. a late audience, *tānglāsī*, following, will stand for the daylight of the day of audience. The point is of some importance as bearing on discrepancies of days, as these are stated in MSS., with European calendars; it is conspicuously so in Bābur's diary sections.

grandson Khwāja Kalān for Samarkand, who had come by way of a mission from Aūzbeg khāns and sulṭāns.<sup>1</sup>

In congratulation on the birth of Humāyūn's son and Kāmṛān's marriage, Mullā Tabrīzī and Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī<sup>2</sup> were sent with gifts (*sāchāq*) to each Mīrzā of 10,000 *shāhrukhīs*, a coat I had worn, and a belt with clasps. Through Mullā Bihishtī were sent to Hind-āl an inlaid dagger with belt, an inlaid ink-stand, a stool worked in mother-o'pearl, a tunic and a girdle,<sup>3</sup> together with the alphabet of the Bāburī script and fragments (*qiṭā'lar*) written in that script. To Humāyūn were sent the translation (*tarjuma*) and verses made in Hindūstān.<sup>4</sup> To Hind-āl and Khwāja Kalān also the translation and verses were sent. They were sent too to Kāmṛān, through Mīrzā Beg Ṭaghāī, together with head-lines (*sar-khat*) in the Bāburī script.<sup>5</sup>

Fol. 358

(Feb. 1st) On Tuesday, after writing letters to be taken by those going to Kābul, the buildings in hand at Āgra and Dūlpūr were recalled to mind, and entrusted to the charge of Mullā Qāsim, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad the stone-cutter, Mīrak, Mīr Ghīāṣ, Mīr Sang-tarāsh (stone-cutter) and Shāh Bābā the spadesman. Their leave was then given them.

(Feb. 2nd) The first watch (6a.m.) was near<sup>6</sup> when we rode out from Anwār (Wednesday, Jumāda I. 23rd); in the end,<sup>7</sup> we dismounted, at the Mid-day Prayer, in the village of Ābāpūr, one *kuroh* (2 m.) from Chandawār.<sup>8</sup>

(Feb. 3rd) On the eve of Thursday (24th)<sup>9</sup> 'Abdu'l-malūk the armourer<sup>10</sup> was joined with Ḥasan *Chalabī* and sent as envoy

<sup>1</sup> *risālat ṭarīqī bīla*; their special mission may have been to work for peace (f. 359b, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> He may well be Kāmṛān's father-in-law Si. 'Alī Mīrzā Ṭaghāī *Begchik*.

<sup>3</sup> *nīmcha u takband*. The *tak-band* is a silk or woollen girdle fastening with a "hook and eye" (Steingass), perhaps with a buckle.

<sup>4</sup> This description is that of the contents of the "*Rāmṭūr Dīwān*"; the *tarjuma* being the *Wālidīyyah-risāla* (f. 361 and n.). What is said here shows that four copies went to Kābul or further north. Cf. Appendix Q.

<sup>5</sup> *Sar-khat* may mean "copies" set for Kāmṛān to imitate.

<sup>6</sup> *bīr pahr yāwūshūb āūd*; I.O. 215 f. 221, *qarīb yak pās roz būd*.

<sup>7</sup> *ākhar*, a word which may reveal a bad start and uncertainty as to when and where to halt.

<sup>8</sup> This, and not Chandwār (f. 331b), appears the correct form. Neither this place nor Ābāpūr is mentioned in the G. of I.'s Index or shewn in the I. S. Map of 1900 (cf. f. 331b n. 3). Chandawār lies s.w. of Fīrūzābād, and near a village called Ṣufīpūr.

<sup>9</sup> Anglicé, Wednesday after 6 p.m.

<sup>10</sup> or life-guardsmen, body-guard.

to the Shāh<sup>1</sup>; and Chāpūq<sup>2</sup> was joined with the Aūzbeḡ envoys and sent to the Aūzbeḡ khāns and sulṭāns.

We moved from Ābāpūr while 4 *garīs* of the night remained (4.30 a.m.). After passing Chandawār at the top of the dawn, I got into a boat. I landed in front of Rāp̄rī and at the Bed-time Prayer got to the camp which was at Fatḥpūr.<sup>3</sup>

(Feb. 4th and 5th) Having stayed one day (Friday) at Fatḥpūr, we got to horse on Saturday (26th) after making ablution (*wazū*) at dawn. We went through the Morning Prayer in assembly near Rāp̄rī, Maulānā Muḥammad of Fārāb being the leader (*imām*). At sun-rise I got into a boat below the great crook<sup>4</sup> of Rāp̄rī.

Today I put together a line-marker (*mistar*) of eleven lines<sup>5</sup> in order to write the mixed hands of the translation.<sup>6</sup> Today

<sup>1</sup> This higher title for Ṭahmāsp, which first appears here in the B.N., may be an early slip in the Turkī text, since it occurs in many MSS. and also because "Shāh-zāda" reappears on f. 359.

<sup>2</sup> Slash-face, *balafre*; perhaps Ibrāhīm *Begchīk* (Index s.n.), but it is long since he was mentioned by Bābur, at least by name. He may however have come, at this time of reunion in Āgra, with Mirzā Beg Ṭaghāī (his uncle or brother?), father-in-law of Kāmran.

<sup>3</sup> The army will have kept to the main road connecting the larger towns mentioned and avoiding the ravine district of the Jumna. What the boat-journey will have been between high banks and round remarkable bends can be learned from the G. of I. and Neave's *District Gazetteer of Mainpūrī*. Rāp̄rī is on the road from Firūzābād to the ferry for Bateswar, where a large fair is held annually. (It is misplaced further east in the I.S. Map of 1900.) There are two Fatḥpūrs, n.e. of Rāp̄rī.

<sup>4</sup> *aūlūgh tūghāinīng tūbī*. Here it suits to take the Turkī word *tūghāī* to mean bend of a river, and as referring to the one shaped (on the map) like a soda-water bottle, its neck close to Rāp̄rī. Bābur avoided it by taking boat below its mouth.—In neither Persian translation has *tūghāī* been read to mean a bend of a river; the first has *az pāyān rūta Rāp̄rī*, perhaps referring to the important ford (*pāyān*); the second has *az zīr bulandī kalān Rāp̄rī*, perhaps referring to a height at the meeting of the bank of the ravine down which the road to the ford comes, with the high bank of the river. Three examples of *tūghāī* or *tūqāī* [a synonym given by Dictionaries], can be seen in Abū'l-ghāzī's *Shajrat-i-Turk*, Fraehn's imprint, pp. 106, 107, 119 (Désmaisons' trs. pp. 204, 205, 230). In each instance Désmaisons renders it by *coude*, elbow, but one of the examples may need reconsideration, since the word has the further meanings of wood, dense forest by the side of a river (Vambéry), prairie (Zenker), and reedy plain (Shaw).

<sup>5</sup> Blochmann describes the apparatus for marking lines to guide writing (A.-i-A. trs. p. 52 n. 5):—On a card of the size of the page to be written on, two vertical lines are drawn within an inch of the edges; along these lines small holes are pierced at regular intervals, and through these a string is laced backwards and forwards, care being taken that the horizontal strings are parallel. Over the lines of string the pages are placed and pressed down; the strings then mark the paper sufficiently to guide the writing.

<sup>6</sup> *tarkīb (nīng) khaṭī bīla tarjuma bīlīr aūchūn*. The *Rāmpūr Dīwān* may supply the explanation of the uncertain words *tarkīb khaṭī*. The "translation" (*tarjuma*), mentioned in the passage quoted above, is the *Wālidīyyah-risāla*, the first item of the *Dīwān*, in which it is entered on crowded pages, specially insufficient for the larger hand of the chapter-headings. The number of lines per page is 13; Bābur now

the words of the honoured man-of-God admonished my heart.<sup>1</sup>

(Feb. 6th) Opposite Jākīn,<sup>2</sup> one of the Rāprī *parganas*, we had the boats drawn to the bank and just spent the night in them. We had them moved on from that place before the dawn (Sunday 27th), after having gone through the Morning Prayer. When I was again on board, Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad came, bringing a servant of Khwāja Kalān, Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad, from whose letters and information particulars about the affairs of Kābul became known.<sup>3</sup> Mahdī Khwāja also came when I was in the boat.<sup>4</sup> At the Mid-day Prayer I landed in a garden opposite Etāwa, there bathed (*ghusl*) in the Jūn, and fulfilled the duty of prayer. Moving nearer towards Etāwa, we sat down in that same garden under trees on a height over-looking the river, and there set the braves to amuse us.<sup>5</sup> Food ordered by Mahdī Khwāja, was set before us. At the Evening Prayer we crossed the river; at the bed-time one we reached camp.

There was a two or three days' delay on that ground both to collect the army, and to write letters in answer to those brought by Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad.

(*ms. Letters various.*)

(Feb. 9th) On Wednesday the last day (30th) of the 1st Jumāda, we marched from Etāwa, and after doing 8 *keurohs* (16m.), dismounted at Mūrī-and-Adūsa.<sup>6</sup>

fashions a line-marker for 11. He has already despatched 4 copies of the translation (f. 357b); he will have judged them unsatisfactory; hence to give space for the mixture of hands (*tarkīb khafī*), i.e. the smaller hand of the poem and the larger of the headings, he makes an 11 line marker.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Ahrārī's in the *Wāhidīyyah-risāla*, perhaps those of Muḥammad. A quatrain in the *Rāmpūr Divān* connects with this admonishment [Plate xiva, 2nd quatrain].

<sup>2</sup> Jākḥān (*G. of Mainpūrī*). The *G. of Etāwa* (Drake-Brockman) p. 213, gives this as some 18m. n.w. of Etāwa and as lying amongst the ravines of the Jumna.

<sup>3</sup> f. 359b allows some of the particulars to be known.

<sup>4</sup> Mahdī may have come to invite Bābur to the luncheon he served shortly afterwards. The Hai. MS. gives him the honorific plural; either a second caller was with him or an early scribe has made a slip, since Bābur never so-honours Mahdī. This small point touches the larger one of how Bābur regarded him, and this in connection with the singular story Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad tells in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* about Khalifa's wish to supplant Humāyūn by Mahdī Khwāja (Index s.n.).

<sup>5</sup> *yigītlārni shokhlūggha sālāūg*, perhaps set them to make fun. Cf. f. 366, *yigītlār bir pāra shokhlūg gīdātār*. Muh. *Shīrāzī* (p. 323 *foot*) makes the startling addition of *dar āb (andākhīm)*, i.e. he says that the royal party flung the braves into the river.

<sup>6</sup> The *Gazetteer of Etāwa* (Drake-Brockman) p. 186, s.n. Bāburpūr, writes of two village sites [which from their position are Mūrī-and-Adūsa], as known by the name

Several remaining letters for Kābul were written on this same ground. One to Humāyūn was to this purport :—If the work have not yet been done satisfactorily, stop the raiders and thieves thyself; do not let them embroil the peace now descending amongst the peoples.<sup>1</sup> Again, there was this :—I have made Kābul a crown-domain, let no son of mine covet it. Again :—that I had summoned Hind-āl. Fol. 359.

Kāmran, for his part, was written to about taking the best of care in intercourse with the Shāh-zāda,<sup>2</sup> about my bestowal on himself of Multān, making Kābul a crown-domain, and the coming of my family and train.<sup>3</sup>

As my letter to Khwāja Kalān makes several particulars known, it is copied in here without alteration :—<sup>4</sup>

[COPY OF A LETTER TO KHWĀJA KALĀN.]

“After saying ‘Salutation to Khwāja Kalān’, the first matter is that Shamsu’d-dīn Muḥammad has reached Etāwa, and that the particulars about Kābul are known.”

“Boundless and infinite is my desire to go to those parts.<sup>5</sup> Matters are coming to some sort of settlement in Hindūstān; there is hope, through the Most High, that the work here will soon be arranged. This work brought to order, God willing! my start will be made at once.”

“How should a person forget the pleasant things of those countries, especially one who has repented and vowed to sin no more? How should he banish from his mind the permitted flavours of melons and grapes? Taking this opportunity,<sup>6</sup>

Sarāi Bāburpūr from having been Bābur’s halting-place. They are 24 m. to the s. e. of Etāwa, on the old road for Kālpi. Near the name Bāburpūr in the Gazetteer Map there is Muhuri (Mūrī ?); there is little or no doubt that Sarāi Bāburpūr represents the camping-ground Mūrī-and-Adūsa.

<sup>1</sup> This connects with Kitin-qarā’s complaints of the frontier-begs (f. 361), and with the talk of peace (f. 356b).

<sup>2</sup> This injunction may connect with the desired peace; it will have been prompted by at least a doubt in Bābur’s mind as to Kāmran’s behaviour perhaps *e.g.* in manifested dislike for a Shia. Concerning the style Shāh-zāda see f. 358, p. 643, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Kāmran’s mother Gul-rukh *Begchik* will have been of the party who will have tried in Kābul to forward her son’s interests.

<sup>4</sup> f. 348, p. 624, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Kābul and Tramontana.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably that of Shamsu’d-dīn Muḥammad’s mission. One of Bābur’s couplets expresses longing for the fruits, and also for the “running waters”, of lands other than Hindūstān, with conceits recalling those of his English contemporaries in verse, as indeed do several others of his short poems (*Rāmpūr Diwān* Plate xvii A.).

a melon was brought to me; to cut and eat it affected me strangely; I was all tears !”

Fol. 359<sup>b</sup>. “The unsettled state<sup>1</sup> of Kābul had already been written of to me. After thinking matters over, my choice fell on this :— How should a country hold together and be strong (*marbūt u mazbūt*), if it have seven or eight Governors? Under this aspect of the affair, I have summoned my elder sister (Khānzāda) and my wives to Hindūstān, have made Kābul and its neighbouring countries a crown-domain, and have written in this sense to both Humāyūn and Kāmran. Let a capable person take those letters to the Mīrzās. As you may know already, I had written earlier to them with the same purport. About the safeguarding and prosperity of the country, there will now be no excuse, and not a word to say. Henceforth, if the town-wall<sup>2</sup> be not solid or subjects not thriving, if provisions be not in store or the Treasury not full, it will all be laid on the back of the inefficiency of the Pillar-of-the State.”<sup>3</sup>

Fol. 360. “The things that must be done are specified below ; for some of them orders have gone already, one of these being, ‘Let treasure accumulate.’ The things which must be done are these :— First, the repair of the fort ; again :—the provision of stores ; again :—the daily allowance and lodging<sup>4</sup> of envoys going backwards and forwards<sup>5</sup> ; again :—let money, taken legally from revenue,<sup>6</sup> be spent for building the Congregational Mosque ; again :—the repairs of the Kārwan-sarā (Caravan-sarai) and the Hot-baths ; again :—the completion of the unfinished building made of burnt-brick which Ūstād Ḥasan ‘Alī was constructing in the citadel. Let this work be ordered after taking counsel with Ūstād Sl. Muḥammad ; if a design exist, drawn earlier by Ūstād

<sup>1</sup> Ḥai. MS. *nā marbūtūlīghī* ; so too the 2nd Pers. trs. but the 1st writes *wairāmī u karābī* which suits the matter of defence.

<sup>2</sup> *qūrgān*, walled-town ; from the *mazbūt* following, the defences are meant.

<sup>3</sup> *vis.* Governor Khwāja Kalān, on whose want of dominance his sovereign makes good-natured reflection.

<sup>4</sup> *‘alūfa u qūnāl* ; cf. 364<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Following *ālchī* (envoys) there is in the Ḥai. MS. and in I.O. 217 a doubtful word, *būmla, yūmla* ; I.O. 215 (which contains a Persian trs. of the letter) is obscure, Ilmīnsky changes the wording slightly ; Erskine has a free translation. Perhaps it is *yāumī*, daily, misplaced (*see* above).

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps, endow the Mosque so as to leave no right of property in its revenues to their donor, here Bābur. Cf. Hughes’ *Dict. of Islām* s.nn. *sharī*, *masjid* and *waqf*.

Ḥasan 'Alī, let Ūstād Sī. Muḥammad finish the building precisely according to it ; if not, let him do so, after making a gracious and harmonious design, and in such a way that its floor shall be level with that of the Audience-hall ; again :—the Khwurd-Kābul dam which is to hold up the But-khāk-water at its exit from the Khwurd-Kābul narrows ; again :—the repair of the Ghaznī dam<sup>1</sup> ; again :—the Avenue-garden in which water is short and for which a one-mill stream must be diverted<sup>2</sup> ; again :—I had water brought from Tūtūm-dara to rising ground south-west of Khwāja Basta, there made a reservoir and planted young trees. The place got the name of Belvedere,<sup>3</sup> because it faces the ford and gives a first-rate view. The best of young trees must be planted there, lawns arranged, and borders set with sweet-herbs and with flowers of beautiful colour and scent ; again :—Sayyid Qāsīm has been named to reinforce thee ; again :—do not neglect the condition of matchlockmen and of Ūstād Muḥammad Amīn the armourer<sup>4</sup> ; again :—directly this letter arrives, thou must get my elder sister (Khān-zāda Begīm) and my wives right out of Kābul, and escort them to Nil-āb. However averse they may still be, they most certainly must start within a week of the arrival of this letter. For why ? Both because the armies which have gone from Hindūstān to escort them are suffering hardship in a cramped place (*tār yirdā*), and also because they<sup>5</sup> are ruining the country.”

Fol. 360b.

“Again :—I made it clear in a letter written to 'Abdu'l-lāh ('*asas*), that there had been very great confusion in my mind (*dūghdughā*), to counterbalance being in the oasis (*wādī*) of penitence. This quatrain was somewhat dissuading (*mānī*) :—<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> f. 139. Khwāja Kalān himself had taken from Hindūstān the money for repairing this dam.

<sup>2</sup> *sāpūn ālīp* ; the 2nd Pers. trs. as if from *sātqūn ālīp*, *kharīda*, purchasing.

<sup>3</sup> *nāzar-gāh*, perhaps, theatre, as showing the play enacted at the ford. Cf. ff. 137, 236, 248b. Tūtūn-dara will be Masson's Tūtām-dara. Erskine locates Tūtūn-dara some 8 kos (16 m.) n.w. of Hūpiān (Ūpiān). Masson shews that it was a charming place (*Journeys in Biluchistan, Afghanistan and the Panj-āb*, vol. iii, cap. vi and vii).

<sup>4</sup> *jībachi*. Bābur's injunction seems to refer to the maintaining of the corps and the manufacture of armour rather than to care for the individual men involved.

<sup>5</sup> Either the armies in Nil-āb, or the women in the Kābul-country (f. 375).

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps what Bābur means is, that both what he had said to 'Abdu'l-lāh and what the quatrain expresses, are dissuasive from repentance. Erskine writes (*Mems.* p. 403) but without textual warrant, “I had resolution enough to persevere” ; de Courteille (*Mems.* ii, 390), “*Voici un quatrain qui exprime au juste les difficultés de ma position.*”



Through renouncement of wine bewildered am I ;  
How to work know I not, so distracted am I ;  
While others repent and make vow to abstain,  
I have vowed to abstain, and repentant am I.

A witticism of Banāi's came back to my mind:—One day when he had been joking in 'Ali-sher Beg's presence, who must have been wearing a jacket with buttons,<sup>1</sup> 'Ali-sher Beg said, 'Thou makest charming jokes ; but for the buttons, I would give thee the jacket; they are the hindrance (*māni*').' Said Banāi, 'What hindrance are buttons ? It is button-holes (*mādagī*) that hinder.'<sup>2</sup> Let responsibility for this story lie on the teller! hold me excused for it ; for God's sake do not be offended by it.<sup>3</sup> Again:—that quatrain was made before last year, and in truth the longing and craving for a wine-party has been infinite and endless for two years past, so much so that sometimes the craving for wine brought me to the verge of tears. Thank God ! this year that trouble has passed from my mind, perhaps by virtue of the blessing and sustainment of versifying the translation.<sup>4</sup> Do thou also renounce wine ! If had with equal associates and boon-companions, wine and company are pleasant things ; but with whom canst thou now associate ? with whom drink wine ? If thy boon-companions are Sher-i-aḥmad and Ḥaidar-qulī, it should not be hard for thee to forswear wine. So much said, I salute thee and long to see thee."<sup>5</sup>

Fol. 361.

The above letter was written on Thursday the 1st of the latter Jumāda (*Feb. 10th*). It affected me greatly to write concerning

<sup>1</sup> The surface retort seems connected with the jacket, perhaps with a request for the gift of it.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly what recalled this joke of Banāi's long-silent, caustic tongue was that its point lay ostensibly in a baffled wish—in 'Ali-sher's professed desire to be generous and a professed impediment, which linked in thought with Bābur's desire for wine, baffled by his abjuration. So much Banāi's smart verbal retort shows, but beneath this is the *double-entendre* which cuts at the Beg as miserly and as physically impotent, a defect which gave point to another jeer at his expense, one chronicled by Sām Mirzā and translated in Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte von schönen Redekünste Persiens*, art. CLV. (Cf. f. 179-80.)—The word *mādagī* is used metaphorically for a button-hole ; like *nā-marāi*, it carries secondary meanings, miserliness, impotence, *etc.* (Cf. Wollaston's *English-Persian Dictionary s.v.* button-hole, where only we have found *mādagī* with this sense.)

<sup>3</sup> The 1st Pers. trs. expresses "all these jokes", thus including with the double-meanings of *mādagī*, the jests of the quatrain.

<sup>4</sup> The 1st Pers. trs. fills out Bābur's allusive phrase here with "of the *Wālidīyyah*". His wording allows the inference that what he versified was a prose Turkī translation of a probably Arabic original.

<sup>5</sup> Erskine comments here on the non-translation into Persian of Bābur's letters. Many MSS., however, contain a translation (f. 348, p. 624, n. 2 and E.'s n. f. 377b).

those matters, with their mingling of counsel. The letters were entrusted to Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad on Friday night,<sup>1</sup> he was apprized of word-of-mouth messages and given leave to go.

(*oo. Complaints from Balkh.*)

(*Feb. 11th*) On Friday (*Jumāda II. 2nd*) we did 8 *kurohs* (16m.) and dismounted at Jumandnā.<sup>2</sup> Today a servant of Kīṭin-qarā Sl. arrived whom the Sultān had sent to his retainer and envoy Kamālu'd-din *Qīāq*,<sup>3</sup> with things written concerning the behaviour of the begs of the (Balkh) border, their intercourse with himself, and complaints of theft and raid. Leave to go was given to *Qīāq*, and orders were issued to the begs of the border to put an end to raiding and thieving, to behave well and to maintain intercourse with Balkh. These orders were entrusted to Kīṭin-qarā Sl.'s servant and he was dismissed from this ground.

A letter, accepting excuse for the belated arrival of Ḥasan *Chalabī*,<sup>4</sup> was sent to the Shāh today by one Shāh-qulī who had come to me from Ḥasan *Chalabī* and reported the details of the battle (of Jām).<sup>5</sup> Shāh-qulī was given his leave on this same day, the 2nd of the month.

Fol. 361b.

(*pp. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

(*Feb. 12th*) On Saturday (*3rd*) we did 8 *kurohs* (16m.) and dismounted in the Kakūra and Chachāwalī<sup>6</sup> *parganas* of Kālpī.

(*Feb. 13th*) On Sunday the 4th of the month, we did 9 *kurohs* (18m.) and dismounted in Dīrapūr<sup>7</sup> a *pargana* of Kālpī. Here I shaved my head,<sup>8</sup> which I had not done for the past two months, and bathed in the Sīngar-water (Sengar).

<sup>1</sup> Anglicé, Thursday after 6 p.m.

<sup>2</sup> What would suit measurement on maps and also Bābur's route is "Jumoheen" which is marked where the Sarāi Bāburpūr-Atsu-Phaphand road turns south, east of Phaphand (I.S. Map of 1900, Sheet 68).

<sup>3</sup> var. *Qabūq, Qaiāk, Qanāk*, to each of which a meaning might be attached. Bābur had written to Humāyūn about the frontier affair, as one touching the desired peace (f. 359).

<sup>4</sup> This will refer to the late arrival in Āgra of the envoy named, who was not with his younger brother at the feast of f. 351b (f. 357, p. 641, n. 2).—As to Ṭahmāsp's style, see f. 354, f. 358.

<sup>5</sup> Shāh-qulī may be the ill-informed narrator of f. 354.

<sup>6</sup> Both are marked on the southward road from Jumoheen (Jumandnā?) for Auraiya.

<sup>7</sup> The old Kālpī *pargana* having been sub-divided, Dīrapūr is now in the district of Cawnpore (Kānhpūr).

<sup>8</sup> That this operation was not hair-cutting but head-shaving is shewn by the verbs T. *qīrmāq* and its Pers. trs. *tarāsh kardan*. To shave the head frequently is common in Central Asia.

(Feb. 14th) On Monday (5th) we did 14 *kurohs* (28 m.), and dismounted in Chaparkacla <sup>1</sup> one of the *parganas* of Kālpi.

(Feb. 15th) At the dawn of Tuesday (6th), a Hindūstāni servant of Qarācha's arrived who had taken a command (*farmān*) from Māhīm to Qarācha from which it was understood that she was on the road. She had summoned escort from people in Lāhor, Bhīra and those parts in the fashion I formerly wrote orders (*parwānas*) with my own hand. Her command had been written in Kābul on the 7th of the 1st Jumāda (Jan. 17th).<sup>2</sup>

(Feb. 16th) On Wednesday (7th) we did 7 *kurohs* (14 m.), and dismounted in the Ādampūr *pargana*.<sup>3</sup> Today I mounted before dawn, took the road <sup>4</sup> alone, reached the Jūn (Jumna), and went on along its bank. When I came opposite to Ādampūr, I had awnings set up on an island (*ārāl*) near the camp and seated there, ate *ma'jūn*.

Today we set Ṣādiq to wrestle with Kalāl who had come to Āgra with a challenge.<sup>5</sup> In Āgra he had asked respite for 20 days on the plea of fatigue from his journey; as now 40–50 days had passed since the end of his respite, he was obliged to wrestle. Ṣādiq did very well, throwing him easily. Ṣādiq was given 10,000 *tankas*, a saddled horse, a head-to-foot, and a jacket with buttons; while Kalāl, to save him from despair, was given 3000 *tankas*, spite of his fall.

<sup>1</sup> This will be Chaparghatta on the Dirapūr-Bhognipūr-Chaparghatta-Mūsanagar road, the affixes *kada* and *ghatta* both meaning house, temple, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Māhīm, and with her the child Gul-badan, came in advance of the main body of women. Bābur seems to refer again to her assumption of royal style by calling her Walī, Governor (f. 369 and n.). It is unusual that no march or halt is recorded on this day.

<sup>3</sup> or, Ārampūr. We have not succeeded in finding this place; it seems to have been on the west bank of the Jumna, since twice Bābur when on the east bank, writes of coming opposite to it (*supra* and f. 379). If no move was made on Tuesday, Jumāda II. 6th (cf. last note), the distance entered as done on Wednesday would locate the halting-place somewhere near the Akbarpūr of later name, which stands on a road and at a ferry. But if the army did a stage on Tuesday, of which Bābur omits mention, Wednesday's march might well bring him opposite to Hamirpūr and to the "Rampur"-ferry. The verbal approximation of Ārampūr and "Rampur" arrests attention.—Local encroachment by the river, which is recorded in the District Gazetteers, may have something to do with the disappearance from these most useful books and from maps, of *pargana* Ādampūr (or, Ārampūr).

<sup>4</sup> *iūshlāb*. It suits best here, since solitude is the speciality of the excursion, to read *iūshmāk* as meaning to take the road, Fr. *cheminer*.

<sup>5</sup> *da'wā bīla*; *Mems.* p. 404, challenge; *Mems.* ii, 391, *il avait fait des façons*, a truth probably, but one inferred only.

The carts and mortar were ordered landed from the boats, and we spent 3 or 4 days on this same ground while the road was made ready, the ground levelled and the landing effected.

(*Feb. 21st*) On Monday the 12th of the month (*Jumāda II.*), we did 12 *kurohs* (24 m.) and dismounted at Kūrarah.<sup>1</sup> Today I travelled by litter.

(*Feb. 22nd-25th*) After marching 12 *kurohs* (24 m.) from Kūrarah (*13th*), we dismounted in Kūrīa<sup>2</sup> a *pargana* of Karrah. From Kūrīa we marched 8 *kurohs* (16 m.) and dismounted (*14th*) in Fathpūr—Aswa.<sup>3</sup> After 8 *kurohs* (16 m.) done from Fathpūr, we dismounted (*15th*) at Sarāi Munda.<sup>4</sup> . . . Today at the Bed-time Prayer (*Friday 16th, after dark*), Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn (*Sharqī*)<sup>5</sup> came with his two young sons to wait on me.

(*Feb. 26th*) Next day, Saturday the 17th of the month, we did 8 *kurohs* (16 m.), and dismounted at Dugdugī a Karrah *pargana* on the bank of the Gang.<sup>6</sup>

(*Feb. 27th*) On Sunday (*18th*) came to this ground Muḥammad Sl. M., Nī-khūb (or, Bī-khūb) Sl. and Tardīka (or, Tardī *yakka*, Fol. 362b. champion).

(*Feb. 28th*) On Monday (*19th*) 'Askarī also waited on me. They all came from the other side of Gang (Ganges). 'Askarī and his various forces were ordered to march along the other bank of the river keeping opposite the army on this side, and wherever our camp might be, to dismount just opposite it.

(*qq. News of the Afghāns.*)

While we were in these parts news came again and again that Sl. Maḥmūd (*Lūdī*) had collected 10,000 Afghāns; that he had

<sup>1</sup> This will be more to the south than Kūra Khaṣ, the headquarters of the large district; perhaps it is "Koorā Khera" (? Kūra-khirāj) which suits the route (I.S. Map, Sheet 88).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Kunda Kanak, known also as "Kuria, Koria, Kura and Kunra Kanak" (*D. G. of Fathpūr*).

<sup>3</sup> Haswa or Hanswa. The conjoint name represents two villages some 6 m. apart, and is today that of their railway-station.

<sup>4</sup> almost due east of Fathpūr, on the old King's Highway (*Bādshāhī Sar-rāh*).

<sup>5</sup> His ancestors had ruled in Jūnpūr from 1394 to 1476 AD., his father Ḥusain Shāh having been conquered by Sl. Sikandar *Lūdī* at the latter date. He was one of three rivals for supremacy in the East (*Sharq*), the others being Jalālu'd-dīn *Nūḥānī* and Maḥmūd *Lūdī*.—Afghāns all three. Cf. *Erskine's History of India, Bābur*, i, 501.

<sup>6</sup> This name appears on the I.S. Map, Sheet 88, but too far north to suit Bābur's distances, and also off the Sarāi Munda-Kusār-Karrah road. The position of Naubasta suits better.

detached Shaikh Bāyazid and Bīban with a mass of men towards Sarwār [Gorakhpūr]; that he himself with Faṭḥ Khān *Sarwānī* was on his way along the river for Chunār; that Sher Khān *Sūr* whom I had favoured last year with the gift of several *parganas* and had left in charge of this neighbourhood,<sup>1</sup> had joined these Afghāns who thereupon had made him and a few other amīrs cross the water; that Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn's man in Benares had not been able to hold that place, had fled, and got away; what he was understood to have said being, that he had left soldiers (*sipahīlār*) in Benares-fort and gone along the river to fight Sl. Maḥmūd.<sup>2</sup>

(*rr. Incidents of the march resumed.*)

(*March 1st*) Marching from Dugdugī (*Tuesday, Jumāda II. 20th*) the army did 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) and dismounted at Kusār,<sup>3</sup> 3 or 4 *kurohs* from Karrah. I went by boat. We stayed here 3 or 4 days because of hospitality offered by Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn.

(*March 4th*) On Friday (*23rd*), I dismounted at Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn's house inside Karrah-fort where, host-like, he served me a portion of cooked meat and other viands.<sup>4</sup> After the meal, he and his sons were dressed in unlined coats (*yaktāi jāmah*) and short tunics (*nīmcha*).<sup>5</sup> At his request his elder son was given the style Sl. Maḥmūd.<sup>6</sup> On leaving Karrah, I rode about one *kuroh* (2 m.) and dismounted on the bank of Gang.

Here letters were written and leave was given to Shahrak Beg who had come from Māhīm to our first camp on Gang (*i.e.* Dugdugī). As Khwāja Yaḥyā's grandson Khwāja Kalān

<sup>1</sup> Sher Khān was associated with Dūdū Bībī in the charge of her son's affairs. Bābur's favours to him, his son Humāyūn's future conqueror, will have been done during the Eastern campaign in 934 A.H., of which so much record is missing. Cf. *Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. & D.'s *History of India*, iv, 301 *et seq.* for particulars of Sher Khān (Farīd Khān *Sūr Afghān*).

<sup>2</sup> In writing "Sl. Maḥmūd", Bābur is reporting his informant's style, he himself calling Maḥmūd "Khān" only (f. 363 and f. 363b).

<sup>3</sup> This will be the more northerly of two Kusārs marked as in Karrah; even so, it is a very long 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) from the Dugdugī of the I.S. Map (cf. n. *supra*).

<sup>4</sup> *hīr pāra āsh u ta'ām*, words which suggest one of those complete meals served, each item on its separate small dish, and all dishes fitting like mosaic into one tray. T. *āsh* is cooked meat (f. 2 n. 1 and f. 343b); Ar. *ta'ām* will be sweets, fruit, bread, perhaps rice also.

<sup>5</sup> The *yaktāi*, one-fold coat, contrasts with the *dū-tāhī*, two-fold (A.-i-A. Bib. Ind. ed., p. 101, and Blochmann's trs. p. 88).

<sup>6</sup> This acknowledgement of right to the style Sultān recognized also supremacy of the Sharqī claim to rule over that of the Nūḥānī and Lūdī competitors.

had been asking for the records I was writing,<sup>1</sup> I sent him by Shahrak a copy I had had made.

(*March 5th*) On Saturday move was made at dawn (24th), I going by boat direct, and after 4 *kurohs* done (8m.), halt was made at Koh.<sup>2</sup> Our ground, being so near, was reached quite early. After awhile, we seated ourselves inside<sup>3</sup> a boat where we ate *ma'jūn*. We invited the honoured Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd<sup>4</sup> who was said to be in Nūr Beg's quarters (*awī*), invited also Mullā Maḥmūd (*Farābī?*), bringing him from Mullā 'Alī Khān's. After staying for some time on that spot, we crossed the river, and on the other side, set wrestlers to wrestle. In opposition to the rule of gripping the strongest first, Dost-i-yāsin -khair was told not to grapple with Champion Ṣādiq, but with others; he did so very well with eight.

Fol. 363b.

(*ss. News of the Afghān enemy.*)

At the Afternoon Prayer, Sl. Muḥammad the Pay-master came by boat from the other side of the river, bringing news that the army of Sl. Iskandar's son Maḥmūd Khān whom rebels style

<sup>1</sup> *mīmān bī tūrgān waqū'*. This passage Teufel used to support his view that Bābur's title for his book was *Waqū'*, and not *Bābur-nāma* which, indeed, Teufel describes as the *Kasaner Ausgabe adoptierte Titel*. *Bābur-nāma*, however, is the title [or perhaps, merely scribe's name] associated both with Kehr's text and with the Haidarābād Codex.—I have found no indication of the selection by Bābur of any title; he makes no mention of the matter and where he uses the word *waqū'* or its congeners, it can be read as a common noun. In his colophon to the *Rāmpūr Diwān*, it is a parallel of *ash'ūr*, poems. Judging from what is found in the *Mubīn*, it may be right to infer that, if he had lived to complete his book—now broken off *s.a.* 914 AH. (f. 216b)—he would have been explicit as to its title, perhaps also as to his grounds for choosing it. Such grounds would have found fitting mention in a preface to the now abrupt opening of the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 1b), and if the *Malfūzāt-i-tīmūrī* be Timūr's authentic autobiography, this book might have been named as an ancestral example influencing Bābur to write his own. Nothing against the authenticity of the *Malfūzāt* can be inferred from the circumstance that Bābur does not name it, because the preface in which such mention would be in harmony with *e.g.* his *Waliḍiyyah* preface, was never written. It might accredit the *Malfūzāt* to collate passages having common topics, as they appear in the *Bābur-nāma*, *Malfūzāt-i-tīmūrī* and *Zafar-nāma* (cf. E. & D.'s H. of I. iv, 559 for a discussion by Dr. Sachau and Prof. Dowson on the *Malfūzāt*). (Cf. Z. D. M. xxxvii, p. 184, Teufel's art. *Bābur und Abū'l-faḍl*; Smirnow's Cat. of *Manuscripts Turcs*, p. 142; Index *in loco s.nn.* *Mubīn* and Title.)

<sup>2</sup> Koh-khirāj, Revenue-paying Koh (H. G. Nevill's *D. G. of Allāhābād*, p. 261).

<sup>3</sup> *kīma aichāda*, which suggests a boat with a cabin, a *bayrā* (*Hobson-Jobson s.n.* budgerow).

<sup>4</sup> He had stayed behind his kinsman Khwāja Kalān. Both, as Bābur has said, were descendants of Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Ahrūrī*. Khwāja Kalān was a grandson of Ahrārī's second son Yahyā; Khwāja 'Abdu'sh-shahīd was the son of his fifth, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-lāh (Khwājagān-khwāja). 'Abdu'sh-shahīd returned to India under Akbar, received a fief, maintained 2,000 poor persons, left after 20 years, and died in Samarkand in 982 AH.—1574–5 AD. (A. -i- A., Blochmann's trs. and notes, pp. 423, 539).

Sl. Maḥmūd,<sup>1</sup> had broken up. The same news was brought in by a spy who had gone out at the Mid-day Prayer from where we were ; and a dutiful letter, agreeing with what the spy had reported, came from Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī* between the Afternoon and Evening Prayers. Sl. Muḥammad gave the following particulars :—that the rebels on reaching Chunār seemed to have laid siege to it and to have done a little fighting, but had risen in disorderly fashion when they heard of our approach ; that Afghāns who had crossed the river for Benares, had turned back in like disorder ; that two of their boats had sunk in crossing and a body of their men been drowned.

(*tt. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

(*March 6th*) After marching at Sunday's dawn (*25th*) and doing 6 *kurohs* (12 m.), Sīr-auliya,<sup>2</sup> a *pargana* of Pīāg \*<sup>3</sup> was reached. I went direct by boat.

Aīsan-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl. had dismounted half-way, and were waiting to see me.<sup>4</sup> I, for my part, invited them into the boat. Tūkhta-būghā Sl. must have wrought magic, for a bitter wind rose and rain began to fall. It became quite windy (?)<sup>5</sup> on which account I ate *ma'jūn*, although I had done so on the previous day. Having come to the encamping-ground . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> f. 363, f. 363b.

<sup>2</sup> Not found on maps ; OOjani or Ujhni about suits the measured distance.

<sup>3</sup> Prayāg, Ilāhābād, Allāhābād. Between the asterisk in my text (*supra*) and the one following "ford" before the foliation mark f. 364, the Hai. MS. has a lacuna which, as being preceded and followed by broken sentences, can hardly be due to a scribe's skip, but may result from the loss of a folio. What I have entered above between the asterisks is translated from the Kehr-Ilminsky text ; it is in the two Persian translations also. Close scrutiny of it suggests that down to the end of the swimming episode it is not in order and that the account of the swim across the Ganges may be a survival of the now missing record of 934 A.H. (f. 339). It is singular that the Pers. trss. make no mention of Pīāg or of Sīr-auliya ; their omission arouses speculation, as to in which text, the Turkī or Persian, it was first tried to fill what remains a gap in the Hai. Codex. A second seeming sign of disorder is the incomplete sentence *yūrtgha kilīb*, which is noted below. A third is the crowd of incidents now standing under "Tuesday". A fourth, and an important matter, is that on grounds noted at the end of the swimming passage (p. 655 n. 3) it is doubtful whether that passage is in its right place.—It may be that some-one, at an early date after Bābur's death, tried to fill the lacuna discovered in his manuscript, with help from loose folios or parts of them. Cf. Index *s.n.* swimming, and f. 377b, p. 680 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The Chaghatāi sultāns will have been with 'Askarī east of the Ganges.

<sup>5</sup> *tūr hawālik* ; *Mems.* p. 406, violence of the wind ; *Mems.* ii, 398, *une température très agréable.*

<sup>6</sup> *yūrtgha kilīb*, an incomplete sentence.

(*March 7th?*) Next day (*Monday 26th?*) we remained on the same ground.

(*March 8th?*) On Tuesday (*27th?*) we marched on.

Opposite the camp was what may be an island,<sup>1</sup> large and verdant. I went over by boat to visit it, returning to the boat during the 1st watch (6–9a.m.). While I rode carelessly along the ravine (*jar*) of the river, my horse got to where it was fissured and had begun to give way. I leapt off at once and flung myself on the bank; even the horse did not go down; probably, however, if I had stayed on its back, it and I would have gone down together.

On this same day, I swam the Gang-river (Ganges), counting every stroke;<sup>2</sup> I crossed with 33, then, without resting, swam back. I had swum the other rivers, Gang had remained to do.<sup>3</sup>

We reached the meeting of the waters of Gang and Jūn at the Evening Prayer, had the boat drawn to the Pīāg side, and got to camp at 1 watch, 4 *garīs* (10.30p.m.).

(*March 9th*) On Wednesday (*Jumāda II. 28th*) from the 1st watch onwards, the army began to cross the river Jūn; there were 420 boats.<sup>4</sup>

(*March 11th*) On Friday, the 1st of the month of Rajab, I crossed the river.

(*March 14th*) On Monday, the 4th of the month, the march

<sup>1</sup> *ārāl bār aikāndūr*, phrasing implying uncertainty; there may have been an island, or such a peninsula as a narrow-mouthed bend of a river forms, or a spit or bluff projecting into the river. The word *ārāl* represents *Aiki-sū-ārāsi*, *Miyān-dū-ūb*, *Entre-eaux*, Twixt-two-streams, Mesopotamia.

<sup>2</sup> *gūl*; Pers. trss. *dast andākhtan* and *dast*. Presumably the 33 strokes carried the swimmer across the deep channel, or the Ganges was crossed higher than Pīāg.

<sup>3</sup> The above account of Bābur's first swim across the Ganges which is entered under date Jumāda II. 27th, 935 AH. (March 8th, 1529 AD.), appears misplaced, since he mentions under date Rajab 25th, 935 AH. (April 4th, 1529 AD. f. 366b), that he had swum the Ganges at Baksara (Buxar) a year before, *i. e.* on or close to Rajab 25th, 934 AH. (April 15th, 1528 AD.). Nothing in his writings shews that he was near Pīāg (Allāhābād) in 934 AH.; nothing indisputably connects the swimming episode with the "Tuesday" below which it now stands; there is no help given by dates. One supposes Bābur would take his first chance to swim the Ganges; this was offered at Qanauj (f. 336), but nothing in the short record of that time touches the topic. The next chance would be after he was in Aūd, when, by an unascertained route, perhaps down the Ghogrā, he made his way to Baksara where he says (f. 366b) he swam the river. Taking into consideration the various testimony noted, [Index *s. n.* swimming] there seems warrant for supposing that this swimming passage is a survival of the missing record of 934 AH. (f. 339). Cf. f. 377b, p. 680 and n. 2 for another surmised survival of 934 AH.

<sup>4</sup> "Friday" here stands for Anglicé, Thursday after 6p.m.; this, only, suiting Bābur's next explicit date Sha'ban 1st, Saturday.



for Bihār began along the bank of Jūn. After 5 *kurohs* (10m.) done, halt was made at Lawāin.<sup>1</sup> I went by boat. The people of the army were crossing the Jūn up to today. They were ordered to put the culverin-carts<sup>2</sup> which had been landed at Ādampūr, into boats again and to bring them on by water from Piāg.

On this ground we set wrestlers to wrestle. Dost-i-yāsīn-khair gripped the boatman Champion of Lāhor; the contest was stubborn; it was with great difficulty that Dost gave the throw. A head-to-foot was bestowed on each.

(*March 15th and 16th*) People said that ahead of us was a swampy, muddy, evil river called Tūs.<sup>3</sup> In order to examine the ford<sup>\*4</sup> and repair the road, we waited two days (*Tuesday Ramzān 5th and Wednesday 6th*) on this ground. For the horses and camels a ford was found higher up, but people said laden carts could not get through it because of its uneven, stony bottom.

Fol. 364.

They were just ordered to get them through.

(*March 17th*) On Thursday (*7th*) we marched on. I myself went by boat down to where the Tūs meets the Gang (Ganges), there landed, thence rode up the Tūs, and, at the Other Prayer,

<sup>1</sup> The march, beginning on the Jumna, is now along the united rivers.

<sup>2</sup> *zār-zanīk arābalār*. Here the carts are those carrying the guns.

<sup>3</sup> From the particulars Bābur gives about the Tūs (Tons) and Karmā-nāsā, it would seem that he had not passed them last year, an inference supported by what is known of his route in that year:—He came from Gūāltār to the Kanār-passage (f. 336), there crossed the Jumna and went direct to Qanauj (f. 335), above Qanauj bridged the Ganges, went on to Bangarmāu (f. 338), crossed the Gūmtī and went to near the junction of the Ghogrā and Sardā (f. 338b). The next indication of his route is that he is at Baksara, but whether he reached it by water down the Ghogrā, as his meeting with Muh. Ma'rūf *Farmūlī* suggests (f. 377), or by land, nothing shews. From Baksara (f. 366) he went up-stream to Chausa (f. 365b), on perhaps to Sayyidpūr, 2m. from the mouth of the Gūmtī, and there left the Ganges for Jūnpūr (f. 365). I have found nothing about his return route to Āgra; it seems improbable that he would go so far south as to near Piāg; a more northerly and direct road to Fatḥpūr and Sarāi Bāburpūr may have been taken.—Concerning Bābur's acts in 934AH. the following item, (met with since I was working on 934AH.), continues his statement (f. 338b) that he spent a few days near Aūd (Ajōdhya) to settle its affairs. The *D. G. of Fyābāa* (H. E. Nevill) p. 173 says "In 1528 AD. Bābur came to Ajōdhya (Aūd) and halted a week. He destroyed the ancient temple" (marking the birth-place of Rāma) "and on its site built a mosque, still known as Bābur's Mosque . . . It has two inscriptions, one on the outside, one on the pulpit; both are in Persian; and bear the date 935AH." This date may be that of the completion of the building.—(*Corrigendum*:—On f. 339 n. 1, I have too narrowly restricted the use of the name Sarjū. Bābur used it to describe what the maps of Arrowsmith and Johnson shew, and not only what the *Gazetteer of India* map of the United Provinces does. It applies to the Sardā (f. 339) as Bābur uses it when writing of the fords.)

<sup>4</sup> Here the lacuna of the *Ḥai*. Codex ends.

reached where the army had encamped after crossing the ford. Today 6 *kurohs* (12 m.) were done.

(*March 18th*) Next day (*Friday 8th*), we stayed on that ground.

(*March 19th*) On Saturday (*9th*), we marched 12 *kurohs* and got to the bank of Gang again at Nulibā.<sup>1</sup>

(*March 20th*) Marching on (*Sunday 10th*), we did 6 *kurohs* of road, and dismounted at Kintit.<sup>2</sup>

(*March 21st*) Marching on (*Monday 11th*), we dismounted at Nānāpur.<sup>3</sup> Tāj Khān *Sārang-khānī* came from Chunār to this ground with his two young sons, and waited on me.

In these days a dutiful letter came from Pay-master Sī. Muḥammad, saying that my family and train were understood to be really on their way from Kābul.<sup>4</sup>

(*March 23rd*) On Wednesday (*13th*) we marched from that ground. I visited the fort of Chunār, and dismounted about one *kuroh* beyond it.

During the days we were marching from Pīāg, painful boils had come out on my body. While we were on this ground, an Ottoman Turk (Rūmī) used a remedy which had been recently discovered in Rūm. He boiled pepper in a pipkin; I held the sores in the steam and, after steaming ceased, laved them with the hot water. The treatment lasted 2 sidereal hours.

While we were on this ground, a person said he had seen tiger and rhinoceros on an *ārāl*<sup>5</sup> by the side of the camp.

(*March 24th?*) In the morning (*14th?*), we made the hunting-circle<sup>6</sup> on that *ārāl*, elephants also being brought. Neither tiger nor rhino appeared; one wild buffalo came out at the end of the line. A bitter wind rising and the whirling dust being very troublesome, I went back to the boat and in it to the camp which was 2 *kurohs* (4 m.) above Banāras. Fol. 364b.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps, where there is now the railway station of "Nulibai" (I.S. Map). The direct road on which the army moved, avoids the windings of the river.

<sup>2</sup> This has been read as T. *kint*, P. *dih*, Eng. village and Fr. *village*.

<sup>3</sup> "Nankunpur" lying to the north of Puhari railway-station suits the distance measured on maps.

<sup>4</sup> These will be the women-travellers.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps jungle tracts lying in the curves of the river.

<sup>6</sup> *jirga*, which here stands for the beaters' incurving line, witness the exit of the buffalo at the end. Cf. f. 367b for a *jirga* of boats.

(*uu. News of the Afghāns.*)

(*March 25th (?) and 26th*) Having heard there were many elephants in the Chunār jungles, I had left (Thursday's) ground thinking to hunt them, but Tāj Khān bringing the news (*Friday 15th (?)*) that Maḥmūd Khān (*Lūdz*) was near the Son-water, I summoned the begs and took counsel as to whether to fall upon him suddenly. In the end it was settled to march on continuously, fast<sup>1</sup> and far.

(*March 27th*) Marching on (*Sunday 17th*), we did 9 *kurohs* (18m.), and dismounted at the Bilwah-ferry.<sup>2</sup>

(*March 28th*) On Monday night<sup>3</sup> the 18th of the month, Ṭāhir was started for Āgra from this camp (Bilwah-ferry), taking money-drafts for the customary gifts of allowance and lodging<sup>4</sup> to those on their way from Kābul.

Before dawn next morning (Monday) I went on by boat. When we came to where the Gūi-water (Gūmtī) which is the water of Jūnpūr, meets the Gang-water (Ganges), I went a little way up it and back. Narrower<sup>5</sup> though it is, it has no ford; the army-folk crossed it (last year) by boat, by raft, or by swimming their horses.

Fol. 365.

To look at our ground of a year ago,<sup>6</sup> from which we had started for Jūnpūr,<sup>7</sup> I went to about a *kuroh* lower than the mouth of the Jūnpūr-water (Gūmtī). A favourable wind getting up behind, our larger boat was tied to a smaller Bengali one which, spreading its sail, made very quick going. Two *garīs* of day remained (5.15 p.m.) when we had reached that ground (Sayyidpur?), we went on without waiting there, and by the Bed-time Prayer had got to camp, which was a *kuroh* above Madan-Benāres,<sup>8</sup> long before the boats following us. Mughūl Beg had been ordered to

<sup>1</sup> *āszūn āszāgh*, many miles and many hours?

<sup>2</sup> Bulloa? (I.S. Map).

<sup>3</sup> Anglicé, Sunday after 6 p.m.

<sup>4</sup> *'alufā u qunāl* (f. 359b).

<sup>5</sup> than the Ganges perhaps; or narrowish compared with other rivers, e.g. Ganges, Ghogrā, and Jūn.

<sup>6</sup> *yīl-tūrgī yūrt*, by which is meant, I think, close to the same day a year back, and not an indefinite reference to some time in the past year.

<sup>7</sup> Maps make the starting-place likely to be Sayyidpūr.

<sup>8</sup> re-named Zamānia, after Akbar's officer 'Alī-qulī Khān Khān-i-zamān, and now the head-quarters of the Zamānia *pargana* of Ghāzipūr. Madan-Benāres was in Akbar's *sarkār* of Ghāzipūr. (It was not identified by E. or by de C.) Cf. *D.G. of Ghāzipūr*.

measure all marches from Chunār on the direct road, Luṭfī Beg to measure the river's bank whenever I went by boat. The direct road today was said to be 11 *kurohs* (22 m.), the distance along the river, 18 (36 m.).

(*March 29th*) Next day (*Tuesday 19th*), we stayed on that ground.

(*March 30th*) On Wednesday (*20th*), we dismounted a *kuroh* (2 m.) below Ghāzīpūr, I going by boat.

(*March 31st*) On Thursday (*21st*) Maḥmūd Khān *Nuḥānī*<sup>1</sup> waited on me on that ground. On this same day dutiful letters<sup>2</sup> came from Bihār Khān *Bihārī*'s son Jalāl Khān (*Nuḥānī*),<sup>3</sup> from Naṣīr Khān (*Nuḥānī*)'s son Farīd Khān,<sup>4</sup> from Sher Khān *Sūr*, from 'Alāul Khān *Sūr* also, and from other Afghān amīrs. Today came also a dutiful letter from 'Abdu'l-'azīz *Master-of-the-horse*, which had been written in Lāhor on the 20th of the latter Jumāda (*Feb. 29th*), the very day on which Qarācha's Hindūstānī servant whom we had started off from near Kālpi,<sup>5</sup> reached Lāhor. 'Abdu'l-'azīz wrote that he had gone with the others assigned to meet my family at Nil-āb, had met them there on the 9th of the latter Jumāda (*Feb. 18th*), had accompanied them to Chīn-āb (Chan-āb), left them there, and come ahead to Lāhor where he was writing his letter. Fol. 365b.

(*April 1st*) We moved on, I going by boat, on Friday (*Rajab 22nd*). I landed opposite Chausā to look at the ground of a year ago<sup>6</sup> where the Sun had been eclipsed and a fast kept.<sup>7</sup> After I got back to the boat, Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, coming up behind by boat, overtook me; at his suggestion *ma'jūn* was eaten.

The army had dismounted on the bank of the Karmā-nāsā-river, about the water of which Hindūs are understood to be extremely scrupulous. They do not cross it, but go past its

<sup>1</sup> In the earlier part of the Hai. Codex this Afghān tribal-name is written Nuḥānī, but in this latter portion a different scribe occasionally writes it Lūḥānī (Index s.n.).

<sup>2</sup> 'arza-dāshī, i.e. phrased as from one of lower station to a superior.

<sup>3</sup> His letter may have announced his and his mother Dūdū Bibī's approach (f. 368-9).

<sup>4</sup> Naṣīr Khān had been an amīr of Śī. Sikandar Lūdī. Sher Khān *Sūr* married his widow "Guhār Kusāin", bringing him a large dowry (A. N. trs. p. 327; and *Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhi*, E. & D.'s *History of India* iv, 346).

<sup>5</sup> He started from Chaparghatta (f. 361b, p. 650 n. 1).

<sup>6</sup> *yil-tūrgi yūrt*.

<sup>7</sup> "This must have been the Eclipse of the 10th of May 1528 AD.; a fast is enjoined on the day of an eclipse" (Erskine).

mouth by boat along the Gang (Ganges). They firmly believe that, if its water touch a person, the merit of his works is destroyed; with this belief its name accords.<sup>1</sup> I went some way up it by boat, turned back, went over to the north bank of Gang, and tied up. There the braves made a little fun, some wrestling. Muḥsin the cup-bearer challenged, saying, "I will grapple with four or five." The first he gripped, he threw; the second, who was Shādmān (Joyous), threw him, to Muḥsin's shame and vexation. The (professional) wrestlers came also and set to.

(April 2nd) Next morning, Saturday (23rd) we moved, close to the 1st watch (6 a.m.), in order to get people off to look at the ford through the Karmā-nāśā-water. I rode up it for not less than a *kuroh* (2 m.), but the ford being still far on,<sup>2</sup> took boat and went to the camp below Chausā.

Today I used the pepper remedy again; it must have been somewhat hotter than before, for it blistered (*qāpārdī*) my body, giving me much pain.

(April 3rd) We waited a day for a road to be managed across a smallish, swampy rivulet heard to be ahead.<sup>3</sup>

(April 4th) On the eve of Monday (25th),<sup>4</sup> letters were written and sent off in answer to those brought by the Hindūstānī footman of 'Abdu'l-'azīz.

The boat I got into at Monday's dawn, had to be towed because of the wind. On reaching the ground opposite Baksara (Buxar) where the army had been seated many days last year,<sup>5</sup> we went over to look at it. Between 40 and 50 landing-steps had been then made on the bank; of them the upper two only were left, the river having destroyed the rest. *Ma'jūn* was eaten after return to the boat. We tied up at an *ārāl*<sup>6</sup> above the camp, set the champions to wrestle, and went on at the Bed-time Prayer. A year ago (*yīl-tūr*), an excursion had been made to look at the ground on which the camp now was, I passing through Gang

<sup>1</sup> Karmā-nāśā means loss of the merit acquired by good works.

<sup>2</sup> The I.S. Map marks a main road leading to the mouth of the Karmā-nāśā and no other leading to the river for a considerable distance up-stream.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps "Thora-nadee" (I.S. Map).

<sup>4</sup> Anglicé, Sunday after 6 p.m.

<sup>5</sup> *aiūkān yīl*.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the *dū-āba* between the Ganges and "Thora-nadee".

swimming (? *dastak bila*),<sup>1</sup> some coming mounted on horses, some on camels. That day I had eaten opium.

(*vv. Incidents of the military operations.*)

(*April 5th*) At Tuesday's dawn (*26th*), we sent out for news not under 200 effective braves led by Karīm-birdī and Ḥaidar the stirrup-holder's son Muḥammad 'Alī and Bābā Shaikh.

While we were on this ground, the Bengal envoy was commanded to set forth these three articles:—<sup>2</sup>

(*April 6th*) On Wednesday (*27th*) Yūnas-i-'alī who had been sent to gather Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā's objections to Bihār, brought back rather a weak answer.

Dutiful letters from the (Farmūli) Shaikh-zādas of Bihār gave news that the enemy had abandoned the place and gone off.

(*April 7th*) On Thursday (*28th*) as many as 2000 men of the Turk and Hind amirs and quiver-wearers were joined to Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang's* son Tardī-muḥammad, and he was given leave to go, taking letters of royal encouragement to people in Bihār. He was joined also by Khwāja Murshid 'Irāqī who had been made Dīwān of Bihār. Fol. 367.

(*April 8th* (?)) Muḥammad-i-zamān M. who had consented to go to Bihār, made representation of several matters through

<sup>1</sup> *yīl-tūr . . . Gang-sūi-dīn min dastak bila aūtūb, ba'zī āt, ba'zī tīwah mīnīb, kīlīb, sair qīlīb aidi.* Some uncertainty as to the meaning of the phrase *dastak bila aūtūb* is caused by finding that while here de Courteille agrees with Erskine in taking it to mean swimming, he varies later (f. 373b) to *appuyés sur une pièce de bois*. Taking the Persian translations of three passages about crossing water into consideration (p. 655 after f. 363b, f. 366b (here), f. 373b), and also the circumstances that E. and de C. are once in agreement and that Erskine worked with the help of Oriental *munshīs*, I incline to think that *dastak bila* does express swimming.—The question of its precise meaning bears on one concerning Bābur's first swim across the Ganges (p. 655, n. 3).—Perhaps I should say, however, that if the sentence quoted at the head of this note stood alone, without the extraneous circumstances supporting the reading of *dastak bila* to mean swimming, I should incline to read it as stating that Bābur went on foot through the water, feeling his footing with a pole (*dastak*), and that his followers rode through the ford after him. Nothing in the quoted passage suggests that the horses and camels swam. But whether the Ganges was fordable at Baksara in Bābur's time, is beyond surmise.

<sup>2</sup> *faṣl soz*, which, manifestly, were to be laid before the envoy's master. The articles are nowhere specified; one is summarized merely on f. 365. The incomplete sentence of the Turkī text (*supra*) needs their specification at this place, and an explicit statement of them would have made clearer the political relations of Bābur with Naṣrat Shāh.—A folio may have been lost from Bābur's manuscript; it might have specified the articles, and also have said something leading to the next topic of the diary, now needing preliminaries, *viz.* that of the Mīrzā's discontent with his new appointment, a matter not mentioned earlier.

Shaikh Zain and Yūnas-i-'alī. He asked for reinforcement ; for this several braves were inscribed and several others were made his own retainers.

(*April 9th*)<sup>1</sup> On Saturday the 1st of the month of Sha'bān, we left that ground where we had been for 3 or 4 days. I rode to visit Bhūjpūr and Bihiya,<sup>2</sup> thence went to camp.

Muḥammad 'Alī and the others, who had been sent out for news, after beating a body of pagans as they went along, reached the place where Śī. Maḥmūd (*Lūdī*) had been with perhaps 2000 men. He had heard of our reconnaissance, had broken up, killed two elephants of his, and marched off. He seemed to have left braves and an elephant<sup>3</sup> scout-fashion ; they made no stand when our men came up but took to flight. Ours unhorsed a few of his, cut one head off, brought in a few good men alive.

(*ww. Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

(*April 10th*) We moved on next day (*Sunday 2nd*), I going by boat. From our today's ground Muḥammad-i-zamān M. crossed (his army) over the river (Son), leaving none behind. We spent 2 or 3 days on this ground in order to put his work through and get him off.

Fol. 367b.

(*April 13th*) On Wednesday the 4th<sup>4</sup> of the month, Muḥammad-i-zamān M. was presented with a royal head-to-foot, a sword and belt, a *tīpūchāq* horse and an umbrella.<sup>5</sup> He also was made to kneel (*yūkūndūrūldī*) for the Bihār country. Of the Bihār revenues one *krūr* and 25 *laks* were reserved for the Royal Treasury ; its Dīwānī was entrusted to Murshid '*Irāqī*.

(*April 14th*) I left that ground by boat on Thursday (*6th*). I had already ordered the boats to wait, and on getting up with them, I had them fastened together abreast in line.<sup>6</sup> Though all

<sup>1</sup> This suits Bābur's series, but Gladwin and Wüstenfeld have 10th.

<sup>2</sup> The first is near, the second on the direct road from Buxar for Arrah.

<sup>3</sup> The Hai. MS. makes an elephant be posted as the sole scout ; others post a *sardār*, or post braves ; none post man and beast.

<sup>4</sup> This should be 5th ; perhaps the statement is confused through the gifts being given late, Anglicé, on Tuesday 4th, Islamicé on Wednesday night.

<sup>5</sup> The Mirzā's Timūrid birth and a desire in Bābur to give high status to a representative he will have wished to leave in Bihār when he himself went to his western dominions, sufficiently explain the bestowal of this sign of sovereignty.

<sup>6</sup> *jirgā*. This instance of its use shews that Bābur had in mind not a completed circle, but a line, or in sporting parlance, not a hunting-circle but a beaters'-line. [Cf. f. 251, f. 364b and *infra* of the crocodile.] The word is used also for a governing-circle, a tribal-council.

were not collected there, those there were greatly exceeded the breadth of the river. They could not move on, however, so-arranged, because the water was here shallow, there deep, here swift, there still. A crocodile (*gharīāl*) shewing itself, a terrified fish leaped so high as to fall into a boat; it was caught and brought to me.

When we were nearing our ground, we gave the boats names:— Fol. 368.  
a large<sup>1</sup> one, formerly the Bāburi,<sup>2</sup> which had been built in Āgra before the Holy-battle with Sangā, was named Asāish (Repose).<sup>3</sup> Another, which Arāish Khān had built and presented to me this year before our army got to horse, one in which I had had a platform set up on our way to this ground, was named Arāish (Ornament). Another, a good-sized one presented to me by Jalālu'd-dīn *Sharqī*, was named the Gunjāish (Capacious); in it I had ordered a second platform set up, on the top of the one already in it. To a little skiff, having a *chaukandī*,<sup>4</sup> one used for every task (*har āish*) and duty, was given the name Farmāish (Commissioned).

(April 15th) Next day, Friday (7th), no move was made. Muḥammad-i-zamān M. who, his preparations for Bihār complete, had dismounted one or two *kurohs* from the camp, came today to take leave of me.<sup>5</sup>

(xx. News of the army of Bengal.)

Two spies, returned from the Bengal army, said that Bengalīs<sup>6</sup> under Makhdūm-i-'ālam were posted in 24 places on the Gandak and there raising defences; that they had hindered the Afghāns from carrying out their intention to get their families across the

<sup>1</sup> *aūlūgh* (*kīma*). Does *aūlūgh* (*aūlūq*, *ūlūq*) connect with the "bulky Oolak or baggage-boat of Bengal"? (*Hobson-Jobson s.n.* Woolock, oolock).

<sup>2</sup> De Courteille's reading of Ilminsky's "Bāburi" (p. 476) as Bāiri, old servant, hardly suits the age of the boat.

<sup>3</sup> Bābur anticipated the custom followed e.g. by the White Star and Cunard lines, when he gave his boats names having the same terminal syllable; his is *āish*; on it he makes the quip of the *har āish* of the Farmāish.

<sup>4</sup> As Vullers makes Ar. *ghurfat* a synonym of *chaukandī*, the Farmāish seems likely to have had a cabin, open at the sides. De Courteille understood it to have a rounded stern. [Cf. E. & D.'s *History of India* v, 347, 503 n.; and Gul-badan's H.N. trs. p. 98, n. 2.]

<sup>5</sup> *mindūn rukhsat āldī*; phrasing which bespeaks admitted equality, that of Timūrid birth.

<sup>6</sup> i.e. subjects of the Afghān ruler of Bengal; many will have been Bihārīs and Pūrbiyas. Makhdūm-i-'ālam was Naṣrat Shāh's Governor in Iḥājīpūr.



river (Ganges?), and had joined them to themselves.<sup>1</sup> This news making fighting probable, we detained Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, and sent Shāh Iskandar to Bihār with 3 or 400 men.

(yy. *Incidents of the eastward march resumed.*)

Fol. 368b.

(April 16th) On Saturday (8th) a person came in from Dūdū and her son Jalāl Khān (son) of Bihār Khān<sup>2</sup> whom the Bengalī (Naṣrat Shāh) must have held as if eye-bewitched.<sup>3</sup> After letting me know they were coming,<sup>4</sup> they had done some straight fighting to get away from the Bengalīs, had crossed the river,<sup>5</sup> reached Bihār, and were said now to be on their way to me.

This command was given today for the Bengal envoy Ismā'īl Mītā :—Concerning those three articles, about which letters have already been written and despatched, let him write that an answer is long in coming, and that if the honoured (Naṣrat Shāh) be loyal and of single-mind towards us, it ought to come soon.

(April 17th) In the night of Sunday (9th)<sup>6</sup> a man came in from Tardī-muḥammad *Jang-jang* to say that when, on Wednesday the 5th of the month Sha'bān, his scouts reached Bihār from this side, the Shiqdār of the place went off by a gate on the other side.

On Sunday morning we marched on and dismounted in the *pargana* of Ārī (Ārrah).<sup>7</sup>

(zz. *News and negotiations.*)

To this ground came the news that the Kharīd<sup>8</sup> army, with 100–150 boats, was said to be on the far side of the Sarū near the

<sup>1</sup> This might imply that the Afghāns had been prevented from joining Maḥmūd Khān *Lūdī* near the Son.

<sup>2</sup> Sl. Muḥammad Shāh *Nūḥānī Afghān*, the former ruler of Bihār, dead within a year. He had trained Farīd Khān *Sūr* in the management of government affairs; had given him, for gallant encounter with a tiger, the title Sher Khān by which, or its higher form Sher Shāh, history knows him, and had made him his young son's "deputy", an office Sher Khān held after the father's death in conjunction with the boy's mother Dūdū Bibī (*Tārīkh-i-sher-shāhī*, E. & D.'s *History of India* iv, 325 *et seq.*).

<sup>3</sup> *gūa bāghī yūsūnlūq*; by which I understand they were held fast from departure, as e.g. a mouse by the fascination of a snake.

<sup>4</sup> f. 365 mentions a letter which may have announced their intention.

<sup>5</sup> Ganges; they thus evaded the restriction made good on other Afghāns.

<sup>6</sup> Anglice, Saturday 8th after 6 p.m.

<sup>7</sup> The *D. G. of Shāhābād* (pp. 20 and 127) mentions that "it is said Bābur marched to Ārrah after his victory over Maḥmūd *Lūdī*", and that "local tradition still points to a place near the Judge's Court as that on which he pitched his camp".

<sup>8</sup> Kharīd which is now a *pargana* of the Ballia district, lay formerly on both sides of the Ghogrā. When the army of Kharīd opposed Bābur's progress, it acted for Naṣrat Shāh, but this Bābur diplomatically ignored in assuming that there was peace between

meeting of Sarū and Gang (Ghogrā and Ganges). As a sort of peace existed between us and the Bengalī (Naşrat Shāh *Afghān*), and as, for the sake of a benediction, peace was our first endeavour whenever such work was toward as we were now on, we kept to our rule, notwithstanding his unmannerly conduct in setting himself on our road; <sup>1</sup> we associated Mullā Maḡhab with his envoy Ismā'īl Mītā, spoke once more about those three articles (fol. 369. *faşl soḡ*), and decided to let the envoy go.

(*April 18th*) On Monday (*10th*) when the Bengal envoy came to wait on me, he was let know that he had his leave, and what follows was mentioned: <sup>2</sup>—“We shall be going to this side and that side, in pursuit of our foe, but no hurt or harm will be done to any dependency of yours. As one of those three articles said, <sup>3</sup> when you have told the army of Kharīd to rise off our road and to go back to Kharīd, let a few Turks be joined with it to reassure these Kharīd people and to escort them to their own place. <sup>4</sup> If they quit not the ferry-head, if they cease not their unbecoming words, they must regard as their own act any ill that befalls them, must count any misfortune they confront as the fruit of their own words.”

(*April 20th*) On Wednesday (*12th*) the usual dress of honour was put on the Bengal envoy, gifts were bestowed on him and his leave to go was given.

(*April 21st*) On Thursday (*13th*) Shaikh Jamālī was sent with royal letters of encouragement to Dūdū and her son Jalāl Khān.

Today a servant of Māhīm's came, who will have parted from the Wālī (?) <sup>5</sup> on the other side of the Bāgh-i-şafā.

Bengal and himself.—At this time Naşrat Shāh held the riverain on the left bank of the Ghogrā but had lost Kharīd of the right bank, which had been taken from him by Jūnaid *Barlās*. A record of his occupation still survives in Kharīd-town, an inscription dated by his deputy as for 1529 AD. (*District Gazetteer of Ballia* (H. R. Nevill), and *D. G. of Sāran* (L. L. S. O'Malley), Historical Chapters).

<sup>1</sup> Bābur's opinion of Naşrat Shāh's hostility is more clearly shewn here than in the verbal message of f. 369.

<sup>2</sup> This will be an unceremonious summary of a word-of-mouth message.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. f. 366b, p. 661 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> This shews that Bābur did not recognize the Sāran riverain down to the Ganges as belonging to Kharīd. His offered escort of Turks would safe-guard the Kharīdis if they returned to the right bank of the Ghogrā which was in Turk possession.

<sup>5</sup> The Hai. MS. has *wālī*, clearly written; which, as a word representing Māhīm would suit the sentence best, may make playful reference to her royal commands (f. 361b), by styling her the Governor (*wālī*). Erskine read the word as a place-name Dipālī, which I have not found; De Courteille omits Ilminsky's *w-ras* (p. 478). The MSS. vary and are uncertain.

(April 23rd) On Saturday (15th) an envoy from 'Irāq, Murād Qajar<sup>1</sup> the life-guardsmen, was seen.

(April 24th) On Sunday (16th) Mullā Mazhab received his usual keepsakes (*yād-gārlār*) and was given leave to go.

Fol. 369b. (April 25th) On Monday (17th) Khalifa was sent, with several begs, to see where the river (Ganges) could be crossed.

(April 27th) On Wednesday, (19th) Khalifa again was sent out, to look at the ground between the two rivers (Ganges and Ghogrā).

On this same day I rode southward in the Ārī (Ārrah) *pargana* to visit the sheets of lotus<sup>2</sup> near Ārī. During the excursion Shaikh Gūran brought me fresh-set lotus-seeds, first-rate little things just like pistachios. The flower, that is to say, the *nīlūfar* (lotus), Hindūstānis call *kuwul-kikrī* (lotus-pistachio), and its seed *dūdah* (soot).

As people said, "The Son is near," we went to refresh ourselves on it. Masses of trees could be seen down-stream; "Munir is there," said they, "where the tomb is of Shaikh Yaḥyā the father of Shaikh Sharafu'd-dīn *Munīrī*."<sup>3</sup> It being so close, I crossed the Son, went 2 or 3 *kurohs* down it, traversed the Munir orchards, made the circuit of the tomb, returned to the Son-bank, made ablution, went through the Mid-day Prayer before time, and made for camp. Some of our horses, being fat,<sup>4</sup> had fallen behind; some were worn out; a few people were left to gather them together, water them, rest them, and bring them on without pressure; but for this many would have been ruined.

Fol. 370. When we turned back from Munir, I ordered that some-one should count a horse's steps between the Son-bank and the camp. They amounted to 23,100, which is 46,200 paces, which is 11½

<sup>1</sup> This is the "Kadjar" of Réclus' *L'Asie antérieure* and is the name of the Turkmān tribe to which the present ruling house of Persia belongs. "Turkmān" might be taken as applied to Shāh Ṭahmāsp by Dīv Sulṭān's servant on f. 354.

<sup>2</sup> *Nelumbium speciosum*, a water-bean of great beauty.

<sup>3</sup> Shaikh Yaḥyā had been the head of the Chishtī Order. His son (d. 782 A.H.—1380-1 A.D.) was the author of works named by Abū'l-faḥl as read aloud to Akbar, a discursive detail which pleads in my excuse that those who know Bābur well cannot but see in his grandson's character and success the fruition of his mental characteristics and of his labours in Hindūstān. (For Sharafu'd-dīn *Munīrī*, cf. *Khasinatul-l-asfiyā* ii, 390-92; and *Ayīn-i-akbarī s.n.*)

<sup>4</sup> Kostenko's *Turkistān Region* describes a regimen for horses which Bābur will have seen in practice in his native land, one which prevented the defect that hindered his at Munir from accomplishing more than some 30 miles before mid-day.

*kurohs* (23 m.).<sup>1</sup> It is about half a *kuroh* from Munīr to the Son ; the return journey from Munīr to the camp was therefore 12 *kurohs* (24 m.). In addition to this were some 15–16 *kurohs* done in visiting this and that place ; so that the whole excursion was one of some 30 *kurohs* (60 m.). Six *garīs* of the 1st night-watch had passed [8.15 p.m.] when we reached the camp.

(*April 28th*) At the dawn of Thursday (*Sha'bān 19th*) Si. Junaid *Barlās* came in with the Jūnpūr braves from Jūnpūr. I let him know my blame and displeasure on account of his delay ; I did not see him. Qāzī Jīā I sent for and saw.

(*aaa. Plan of the approaching battle with the Bengal army.*)

On the same day the Turk and Hind amīrs were summoned for a consultation about crossing Gang (Ganges), and matters found settlement at this<sup>2</sup> :—that Ūstād 'Alī-qulī should collect mortar, *firingī*,<sup>3</sup> and culverin<sup>4</sup> to the point of rising ground between the rivers Sarū and Gang, and, having many matchlockmen with him, should incite to battle from that place ;<sup>5</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> The distance from Munīr to the bank of the Ganges will have been considerably longer in Bābur's day than now because of the change of the river's course through its desertion of the Burh-gangā channel (cf. next note).

<sup>2</sup> In trying to locate the site of Bābur's coming battle with the forces of Naṣrat Shāh, it should be kept in mind that previous to the 18th century, and therefore, presumably, in his day, the Ganges flowed in the "Burh-ganga" (Old Ganges) channel which now is closely followed by the western boundary of the Ballia *pargana* of Dū-āba ; that the Ganges and Ghogrā will have met where this old channel entered the bed of the latter river ; and also, as is seen from Bābur's narrative, that above the confluence the Ghogrā will have been confined to a narrowed channel. When the Ganges flowed in the Burh-ganga channel, the now Ballia *pargana* of Dū-āba was a sub-division of Bihiya and continuous with Shāhābād. From it in Bihiya Bābur crossed the Ganges into Kharīd, doing this at a place his narrative locates as some 2 miles from the confluence. Cf. *D. G. of Ballia*, pp. 9, 192–3, 206, 213. It may be observed that the former northward extension of Bihiya to the Burh-ganga channel explains Bābur's estimate (f. 370) of the distance from Munīr to his camp on the Ganges ; his 124. (24 m.) may then have been correct ; it is now too high.

<sup>3</sup> De Courteille, *pierrier*, which may be a balista. Bābur's writings give no indication of other than stone-ammunition for any projectile-engine or fire-arm. Cf. R. W. F. Payne-Gallwey's *Projectile-throwing engines of the ancients*.

<sup>4</sup> Sir R. W. F. Payne-Gallwey writes in *The Cross-bow* (p. 40 and p. 41) what may apply to Bābur's *ṣarḥ-zan* (culverin?) and *tufang* (matchlock), when he describes the larger culverin as a heavy hand-gun of from 16–18 lb., as used by the foot-soldier and requiring the assistance of an attendant to work it ; also when he says that it became the portable arquebus which was in extensive use in Europe by the Swiss in 1476 AD. ; and that between 1510 and 1520 the arquebus described was superseded by what is still seen amongst remote tribes in India, a matchlock arquebus.

<sup>5</sup> The two positions Bābur selected for his guns would seem to have been opposite two ferry-heads, those, presumably, which were blocked against his pursuit of Biban and Bāyazīd. 'Alī-qulī's emplacement will have been on the high bank of old alluvium of south-eastern Kharīd, overlooking the narrowed channel demanded by Bābur's

Fol. 370<sup>b</sup>. Muṣṭafa, he also having many matchlockmen, should get his material and implements ready on the Bihār side of Gang, a little below the meeting of the waters and opposite to where on an island the Bengalīs had an elephant and a mass of boats tied up, and that he should engage battle from this place;<sup>1</sup> that Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and the others inscribed for the work should take post behind Muṣṭafa as his reserve; that both for Ūstād 'Alī-qulī and Muṣṭafa shelters (*muljār*) for the culverin-firers should be raised by a mass of spademen and coolies (*kahār*) under appointed overseers; that as soon as these shelters were ready, 'Askarī and the sulṭāns inscribed for the work should cross quickly at the Haldī-passage<sup>2</sup> and come down on the enemy; that meantime, as Sl. Junaid and Qāzī Jīā had given information about a crossing-place<sup>3</sup> 8 *kurohs* (16 m.) higher up,<sup>4</sup> Zard-rūī (Pale-face?) should go with a few raftsmen and some of the people of the Sulṭān, Maḥmūd Khān *Nūḥānī* and Qāzī Jīā to look at that crossing; and that, if crossing there were, they should go over at once, because it was rumoured that the Bengalīs were planning to post men at the Haldī-passage.

A dutiful letter from Maḥmūd Khān the Military-collector (*shiqdār*) of Sikandarpūr now came, saying that he had collected as many as 50 boats at the Haldī-passage and had given wages to the boatmen, but that these were much alarmed at the rumoured approach of the Bengalīs.

(April 30<sup>th</sup>) As time pressed<sup>5</sup> for crossing the Sarū, I did not wait for the return of those who had gone to look at the passage,

narrative, one pent in presumably by *kankar* reefs such as there are in the region. As illustrating what the channel might have been, the varying breadth of the Ghogrā along the 'Azamgarh District may be quoted, *viz.* from 10 miles to 2/5 m., the latter being where, as in Kharid, there is old alluvium with *kankar* reefs preserving the banks. Cf. Reid's *Report of Settlement Operations in 'Azamgarh, Sikandarpur, and Bhadaon*.—Firishta gives Badrū as the name of one ferry (lith. ed. i. 210).

<sup>1</sup> Muṣṭafa, like 'Alī-qulī, was to take the offensive by gun-fire directed on the opposite bank. Judging from maps and also from the course taken by the Ganges through the Burh-ganga channel and from Bābur's narrative, there seems to have been a narrow reach of the Ghogrā just below the confluence, as well as above.

<sup>2</sup> This ferry, bearing the common name Haldī (turmeric), is located by the course of events as at no great distance above the enemy's encampment above the confluence. It cannot be the one of Sikandarpūr West.

<sup>3</sup> *guzr*, which here may mean a casual ford through water low just before the Rains. As it was not found, it will have been temporary.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* above Bābur's positions.

<sup>5</sup> *sarwar* (or *dar*) *wagt*.

but on Saturday (21st) summoned the begs for consultation and said, "As it has been reported that there are (no?) crossing-places (fords?) along the whole of the ground from Chatur-mūk in Sikan-darpūr to Barāich and Aūd,<sup>1</sup> let us, while seated here, assign the large force to cross at the Haldī-passage by boat and from there to come down on the enemy; let Ūstād 'Alī-qulī and Muṣṭafa engage battle with gun (*top*), matchlock, culverin and *firingī*, and by this draw the enemy out before 'Askarī comes up.<sup>2</sup> Let us after crossing the river (Ganges) and assigning reinforcement to Ūstād 'Alī-qulī, take our stand ready for whatever comes; if 'Askarī's troops get near, let us fling attack from where we are, cross over and assault; let Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and those appointed to act with him, engage battle from near Muṣṭafa on the other side of Gang."

Fol. 371.

The matter having been left at this, the force for the north of the Gang was formed into four divisions to start under 'Askarī's command for the Haldī-passage. One division was of 'Askarī and his retainers; another was Sl. Jalālu'd-dīn *Sharqī*; another was of the Aūzbeq sultāns Qāsīm-i-ḥusain Sultān, Bī-khūb Sultān and Tāng-āitmīsh Sultān, together with Maḥmūd Khān *Nūhānī* of Ghāzīpūr, Bābā Qashqa's Kūkī, Tūlmīsh *Aūzbeq*, Qurbān of Chīrkh, and the Daryā-khānīs led by Ḥasan Khān; another was of Mūsā Sl. (*Farmūlī*) and Sl. Junaid with what-not of the Jūnpūr army, some 20,000 men. Officers were appointed to oversee the getting of the force to horse that very night, that is to say, the night of Sunday.<sup>3</sup>

Fol. 371b.

(*May 1st*) The army began to cross Gang at the dawn of Sunday (*Shā'bān 22nd*); I went over by boat at the 1st watch (6 a.m.). Zard-rūi and his party came in at mid-day; the ford itself they had not found but they brought news of boats and of having met on the road the army getting near them.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The preceding sentence is imperfect and varies in the MSS. The 1st Pers. trs., the wording of which is often explanatory, says that there were *no* passages, which, as there were many ferries, will mean fords. The Haldī-guzr where 'Askarī was to cross, will have been far below the lowest Bābur mentions, *viz.* Chatur-mūk (Chaupāra).

<sup>2</sup> This passage presupposes that guns in Kharīd could hit the hostile camp in Sāran. If the river narrowed here as it does further north, the Ghāzī mortar, which seems to have been the only one Bābur had with him, would have carried across, since it threw a stone 1,600 paces (*qadam*, f. 309). Cf. Reid's *Report* quoted above.

<sup>3</sup> Anglicé, Saturday after 6 p.m.

<sup>4</sup> *yaqīn būlghān fauj*, var. *ia'in būlghān fauj*, the army appointed (to cross). The boats will be those collected at the Haldī-ferry, and the army 'Askarī's.

(*May 3rd*) On Tuesday (*Shā'bān 24th*) we marched from where the river had been crossed, went on for nearly one *kuroh* (2 m.) and dismounted on the fighting-ground at the confluence.<sup>1</sup> I myself went to enjoy Ūstād 'Alī-qulī's firing of culverin and *firingzī*; he hit two boats today with *firingzī*-stones, broke them and sank them. Muṣṭafa did the same from his side. I had the large mortar<sup>2</sup> taken to the fighting-ground, left Mullā Ghulām to superintend the making of its position, appointed a body of *yasāwals*<sup>3</sup> and active braves to help him, went to an island facing the camp and there ate *ma'jūn*.

Whilst still under the influence of the confection<sup>4</sup> I had the boat taken to near the tents and there slept. A strange thing happened in the night, a noise and disturbance arising about the 3rd watch (midnight) and the pages and others snatching up pieces of wood from the boat, and shouting "Strike! strike!"

Fol. 372.

What was said to have led to the disturbance was that a night-guard who was in the Farmāish along-side the Asāish in which I was sleeping,<sup>5</sup> opening his eyes from slumber, sees a man with his hand on the Asāish as if meaning to climb into her. They fall on him;<sup>6</sup> he dives, comes up again, cuts at the night-guard's head, wounding it a little, then runs off at once towards the river.<sup>7</sup> Once before, on the night we returned from Munīr, one or two night-guards had chased several Hindūstānīs from near the boats, and had brought in two swords and a dagger of theirs. The Most High had me in His Keeping!

(*Persian*) Were the sword of the world to leap forth,  
It would cut not a vein till God will.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* near 'Alī-qulī's emplacement.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. f. 303, f. 309, f. 337 and n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> "The *yasāwal* is an officer who carries the commands of the prince, and sees them enforced" (Erskine). Here he will have been the superintendent of coolies moving earth.

<sup>4</sup> *ma'jūn-nāk* which, in these days of Bābur's return to obedience, it may be right to translate in harmony with his psychical outlook of self-reproach, by *ma'jūn*-polluted. Though he had long ceased to drink wine, he still sought cheer and comfort, in his laborious days, from inspiring and forbidden confections.

<sup>5</sup> Probably owing to the less precise phrasing of his Persian archetype, Erskine here has reversed the statement, made in the Turkī, that Bābur slept in the Asāish (not the Farmāish).

<sup>6</sup> *aūstīdā tāshlār*. An earlier reading of this, *viz.* that stones were thrown on the intruder is negatived by Bābur's mention of wood as the weapon used.

<sup>7</sup> *sū sāvi* which, as the boats were between an island and the river's bank, seems likely to mean that the man went off towards the main stream. *Mems.* p. 415, "made his escape in the river"; *Méms.* ii, 418, *dans la direction du large*.

<sup>8</sup> This couplet is quoted by Jahāngir also (*Tūzūk*, trs. Rogers & Beveridge, i, 348).

(*May 4th*) At the dawn of Wednesday (*25th*), I went in the boat Gunjāish to near the stone-firing ground (*tāsh-ātār-yār*) and there posted each soever to his work.

(*bbb. Details of the engagement.*)

Aūghān-birdī *Mughūl*, leading not less than 1,000 men, had been sent to get, in some way or other, across the river (Sarū) one, two, three *kurohs* (2, 4, 6 m.) higher up. A mass of foot-soldiers, crossing from opposite 'Askarī's camp,<sup>1</sup> landed from 20-30 boats on his road, presumably thinking to show their superiority, but Aūghān-birdī and his men charged them, put them to flight, took a few and cut their heads off, shot many with arrows, and got possession of 7 or 8 boats. Today also Bengalīs crossed in a few boats to Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā's side, there landed and provoked to fight. When attacked they fled, and three boat-loads of them were drowned. One boat was captured and brought to me. In this affair Bābā the Brave went forward and exerted himself excellently.

Fol. 372b.

Orders were given that in the darkness of night the boats Aūghān-birdī had captured should be drawn<sup>2</sup> up-stream, and that in them there should cross Muḥammad Sī. Mīrzā, Yakka Khwāja, Yūnas-i-'alī, Aūghān-birdī and those previously assigned to go with them.

Today came a man from 'Askarī to say that he had crossed the [Sarū]-water, leaving none behind, and that he would come down on the enemy at next day's dawn, that is to say, on Thursday's. Here-upon those already ordered to cross over were told to join 'Askarī and to advance upon the enemy with him.

At the Mid-day Prayer a person came from Ūstā, saying "The stone is ready; what is the order?" The order was, "Fire this stone off; keep the next till I come." Going at the Other Prayer in a very small Bengalī skiff to where shelter (*muljār*) had been raised, I saw Ūstā fire off one large stone and several

<sup>1</sup> This, taken with the positions of other crossing-parties, serves to locate 'Askarī's "Haldī-passage" at no great distance above 'Alī-qulī's emplacement at the confluence, and above the main Bengal force.

<sup>2</sup> perhaps, towed from the land. I have not found Bābur using any word which clearly means to row, unless indeed a later *rawān* does so. The force meant to cross in the boats taken up under cover of night was part of Bābur's own, no doubt.



small *firingī* ones. Bengalīs have a reputation for fire-working ;<sup>1</sup> we tested it now ; they do not fire counting to hit a particular spot, but fire at random.

Fol. 373.

At this same Other Prayer orders were given to draw a few boats up-stream along the enemy's front. A few were got past without a " God forbid ! " <sup>2</sup> from those who, all unprotected, drew them up. Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl. were ordered to stay at the place those boats reached, and to keep watch over them. I got back to camp in the 1st night-watch of Thursday.<sup>3</sup>

Near midnight came news from (Aūghān-birdī's) boats which were being drawn up-stream, " The force appointed had gone somewhat ahead ; we were following, drawing the boats, when the Bengalīs got to know where we were drawing them and attacked. A stone hit a boatman in the leg and broke it, we could not pass on."

(*May 5th*) At dawn on Thursday (*Sha'bān 26th*) came the news from those at the shelter, " All the boats have come from above.<sup>4</sup> The enemy's horse has ridden to meet our approaching army." On this, I got our men mounted quickly and rode out to above those boats<sup>5</sup> that had been drawn up in the night. A galloper was sent off with an order for Muḥammad Sl. M. and those appointed to cross with him, to do it at once and join 'Askari. The order for Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl. who were above these boats,<sup>6</sup> was that they should busy themselves to cross. Bābā Sl. was not at his post.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *āfīsh-bāfī* lit. fire-playing, if a purely Persian compound ; if *āfīsh* be Turkī, it means discharge, shooting, The word " fire-working " is used above under the nearest to contemporary guidance known to me, *viz.* that of the list of persons who suffered in the Patna massacre " during the troubles of October 1763 AD.," in which list are the names of four Lieutenants fire-workers (*Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1884, and Jan. 1885, art. *The Patna Massacre*, H. Beveridge).

<sup>2</sup> *bī tahāshī*, without protest or demur.

<sup>3</sup> Anglicé, Wednesday after 6 p.m.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps those which had failed to pass in the darkness ; perhaps those from Haldī-guzr, which had been used by 'Askari's troops. There appear to be obvious reasons for their keeping abreast on the river with the troops in Sāran, in order to convey reinforcements or to provide retreat.

<sup>5</sup> *kīmalār aūstīdā*, which may mean that he came, on the high bank, to where the boats lay below.

<sup>6</sup> as in the previous note, *kīmalār aūstīdā*. These will have been the few drawn up-stream along the enemy's front.

<sup>7</sup> The reproach conveyed by Bābur's statement is borne out by the strictures of Ḥaidar Mirzā *Dughlat* on Bābā Sulṭān's neglect of duty (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. cap. lxxvii).

Aisān-tīmūr Sl. at once crosses, in one boat with 30-40 of his retainers who hold their horses by the mane at the boat-side. A second boat follows. The Bengalis see them crossing and start off a mass of foot-soldiers for them. To meet these go 7 or 8 of Aisān-tīmūr Sl.'s retainers, keeping together, shooting off arrows, drawing those foot-soldiers towards the Sultān who meantime is getting his men mounted; meantime also the second boat is moving (*rawān*). When his 30-35 horsemen charge those foot-soldiers, they put them well to flight. Aisān-tīmūr did distinguished work, first in crossing before the rest, swift, steady, and without a "God forbid!", secondly in his excellent advance, with so few men, on such a mass of foot, and by putting these to flight. Tūkhta-būghā Sl. also crossed. Then boats followed one after another. Lāhorīs and Hindūstānis began to cross from their usual posts <sup>1</sup> by swimming or on bundles of reeds.<sup>2</sup> Seeing how matters were going, the Bengalis of the boats opposite the shelter (Muṣṭafa's), set their faces for flight down-stream.

Fol. 373b.

Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān*, Dost Lord-of-the-gate, Nūr Beg and several braves also went across the river. I made a man gallop off to the Sultāns to say, "Gather well together those who cross, go close to the opposing army, take it in the flank, and get to grips." Accordingly the Sultāns collected those who crossed, formed up into 3 or 4 divisions, and started for the foe. As they draw near, the enemy-commander, without breaking his array, flings his foot-soldiers to the front and so comes on. Kūkī comes up with a troop from 'Askari's force and gets to grips on his side; the Sultāns get to grips on theirs; they get the upper hand, unhorse man after man, and make the enemy scurry off. Kūkī's men bring down a Pagan of repute named Basant Rāō and cut off his head; 10 or 15 of his people fall on Kūkī's, and are instantly cut to pieces. Tūkhta-būghā Sl. gallops along the enemy's front and gets his sword well in. Mughūl 'Abdu'l-

Fol. 374.

<sup>1</sup> *yāsūnlūg tūshī*, Pers. trss. *ṭarf khūd*, i.e. their place in the array, a frequent phrase.

<sup>2</sup> *dastak bīla dasta-i-qāmīsh bīla*. Cf. f. 363b and f. 366b, for passages and notes connected with swimming and *dastak*. Erskine twice translates *dastak bīla* by swimming; but here *de Courteille* changes from his earlier *à la nage* (f. 366b) to *appuyés sur une pîce de bois*. Perhaps the swift current was crossed by swimming with the support of a bundle of reeds, perhaps on rafts made of such bundles (cf. *Illustrated London News*, Sep. 16th, 1916, for a picture of Indian soldiers so crossing on rafts).

wahhāb and his younger brother gets theirs in well too. Mughūl though he did not know how to swim, had crossed the river holding to his horse's mane.

I sent for my own boats which were behind ;<sup>1</sup> the Farmāish coming up first, I went over in it to visit the Bengalīs' encamping-grounds. I then went into the Gunjāish. "Is there a crossing-place higher up?" I asked. Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman represented that the Sarū was better to cross higher up ;<sup>2</sup> accordingly the army-folk<sup>3</sup> were ordered to cross at the higher place he named.

Fol. 374<sup>b</sup>. While those led by Muḥammad Sī. Mīrzā were crossing the river,<sup>4</sup> the boat in which Yakka Khwāja was, sank and he went to God's mercy. His retainers and lands were bestowed on his younger brother Qāsim Khwāja.

The Sultāns arrived while I was making ablution for the Mid-day Prayer ; I praised and thanked them and led them to expect guerdon and kindness. 'Askarī also came ; this was the first affair he had seen ; one well-omened for him !

As the camp had not yet crossed the river, I took my rest in the boat Gunjāish, near an island.

(*ccc. Various incidents of the days following the battle.*)

(*May 6th*) During the day of Friday (*Shā'bān 27th*) we landed at a village named Kūndih<sup>5</sup> in the Nirhun *pargana* of Kharīd on the north side of the Sarū.<sup>6</sup>

(*May 8th*) On Sunday (*29th*) Kūkī was sent to Ḥājīpūr for news.

<sup>1</sup> perhaps they were in the Burh-ganga channel, out of gun-fire.

<sup>2</sup> If the Ghogrā flowed at this point in a narrow channel, it would be the swifter, and less easy to cross than where in an open bed.

<sup>3</sup> *chirik-āilī*, a frequent compound, but one of which the use is better defined in the latter than the earlier part of Bābur's writings to represent what then answered to an Army Service Corps. This corps now crosses into Śāran and joins the fighting force.

<sup>4</sup> This appears to refer to the crossing effected before the fight.

<sup>5</sup> or Kūndbah. I have not succeeded in finding this name in the Nirhun *pargana* ; it may have been at the southern end, near the "Domaigarh" of maps. In it was Tīr-mūhāni, perhaps a village (f. 377, f. 381).

<sup>6</sup> This passage justifies Erskine's surmise (*Memoirs*, p. 411, n. 4) that the Kharīd-country lay on both banks of the Ghogrā. His further surmise that, on the east bank of the Ghogrā, it extended to the Ganges would be correct also, since the Ganges flowed, in Bābur's day, through the Burh-ganga (Old Ganges) channel along the southern edge of the present Kharīd, and thus joined the Ghogrā higher than it now does.

Shāh Muḥammad (son) of Ma'rūf to whom in last year's campaign (934 AH.) I had shown great favour and had given the Sāran-country, had done well on several occasions, twice fighting and overcoming his father Ma'rūf.<sup>1</sup> At the time when Sl. Maḥmūd *Lūdī* perfidiously took possession of Bihār and was opposed by Shaikh Bāyazīd and Bīban, Shāh Muḥammad had no help for it, he had to join them; but even then, when people were saying wild words about him, he had written dutifully to me. When 'Askarī crossed at the Haldī-passage, Shāh Muḥammad had come at once with a troop, seen him and with him gone against the Bengalīs. He now came to this ground and waited on me. Fol. 375-

During these days news came repeatedly that Bīban and Shaikh Bāyazīd were meaning to cross the Sarū-river.

In these days of respite came the surprising news from Sanbal (Sambhal) where 'Alī-i-yūsuf had stayed in order to bring the place into some sort of order, that he and a physician who was by way of being a friend of his, had gone to God's mercy on one and the same day. 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) was ordered to go and maintain order in Sanbal.

(*May 13th*) On Friday the 5th of the month Ramzān, 'Abdu'l-lāh was given leave for Sanbal.<sup>2</sup>

(*ddd. News from the westward.*)

In these same days came a dutiful letter from Chīn-tīmūr Sl. saying that on account of the journey of the family from Kābul, several of the begs who had been appointed to reinforce him, had not been able to join him;<sup>3</sup> also that he had gone out with Muḥammadī and other begs and braves, not less than 100 *kurohs*

<sup>1</sup> Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf *Farmūli* were brothers. Bāyazīd had taken service with Bābur in 932 AH. (1526 AD.), left him in 934 AH. (end of 1527 AD.) and opposed him near Qanūj. Ma'rūf, long a rebel against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī*, had never joined Bābur; two of his sons did so; of the two, Muḥammad and Mūsa, the latter may be the one mentioned as at Qanūj, "Ma'rūf's son" (f. 336).—For an interesting sketch of Marūf's character and for the location in Hindūstān of the Farmūli clan, see the *Wāqī'āt-i-mushtāqī*, E. & D.'s *History of India*, iv, 584.—In connection with Qanūj, the discursive remark may be allowable, that Bābur's halt during the construction of the bridge of boats across the Ganges in 934 AH. is still commemorated by the name Bādshāh-nagar of a village between Bangarmāu and Nānāmau (Elliot's *Onau*, p. 45).

<sup>2</sup> On f. 381 'Abdu'l-lāh's starting-place is mentioned as Tir-mūhāni.

<sup>3</sup> The failure to join would be one of the evils predicted by the dilatory start of the ladies from Kābul (f. 360b).

(200m.), attacked the Balūchīs and given them a good beating.<sup>1</sup> Orders were sent through 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) for the Sulṭān that he and Si. Muḥammad *Dūldāz*, Muḥammadi, and some of the begs and braves of that country-side should assemble in Āgra and there remain ready to move to wherever an enemy appeared.

(*eee. Settlement with the Nūhānī Afghāns.*)

Fol. 375<sup>b</sup>. (*May 16th*) On Monday the 8th of the month, Daryā Khān's grandson Jalāl Khān to whom Shaikh Jamālī had gone, came in with his chief amīrs and waited on me.<sup>2</sup> Yahyā *Nūhānī* also came, who had already sent his younger brother in sign of submission and had received a royal letter accepting his service. Not to make vain the hope with which some 7 or 8,000 *Nūhānī* Afghāns had come in to me, I bestowed 50 *laks* from Bihār on Maḥmūd Khān *Nūhānī*, after reserving one *krūr* for Government uses (*khalsa*), and gave the remainder of the Bihār revenues in trust for the above-mentioned Jalāl Khān who for his part agreed to pay one *krūr* of tribute. Mullā Ghulām *yasāwāl* was sent to collect this tribute.<sup>3</sup> Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā received the Jūnapūr-country.<sup>4</sup>

(*fff. Peace made with Naṣrat Shāh.*)

(*May 19th*) On the eve of Thursday (*11th*) that retainer of Khalīfa's, Ghulām-i-'alī by name, who in company with a retainer of the Shāh-zāda of Mungīr named Abū'l-faṭḥ,<sup>5</sup> had gone earlier than Ismā'il Mītā, to convey those three articles (*faṣl soz*), now returned, again in company with Abū'l-faṭḥ, bringing letters for Khalīfa written by the Shāh-zāda and by Ḥusain Khān *Lashkar*(?) *Wazīr*, who, in these letters, gave assent to those three conditions, took upon themselves to act for Naṣrat Shāh and interjected a word for peace. As the object of this campaign was to put

<sup>1</sup> The order for these operations is given on f. 355<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> f. 369. The former *Nūhānī* chiefs are now restored to Bihār as tributaries of Bābur.

<sup>3</sup> Erskine estimated the *krūr* at about £25,000, and the 50 *laks* at about £12,500.

<sup>4</sup> The Mīrzā thus supersedes Junaid *Barlās* in Jūnpūr.—The form Jūnapūr used above and elsewhere by Bābur and his Persian translators, supports the *Gazetteer of India* xlv, 74 as to the origin of the name Jūnpūr.

<sup>5</sup> a son of Naṣrat Shāh. No record of this earlier legation is with the *Bābur-nāma* manuscripts; probably it has been lost. The only article found specified is the one asking for the removal of the Kharīd army from a ferry-head Bābur wished to use; Naṣrat Shāh's assent to this is an anti-climax to Bābur's victory on the Ghogrā.

down the rebel Afghāns of whom some had taken their heads and gone off, some had come in submissive and accepting my service, and the remaining few were in the hands of the Bengālī (Naṣrat Shāh) who had taken them in charge, and as, moreover, the Rains were near, we in our turn wrote and despatched words for peace on the conditions mentioned.

(*ggg. Submissions and guerdon.*)

(*May 21st*) On Saturday (*13th*) Ismā'il Jālwānī, 'Alā'ul Khān Nūhānī, Auliya Khān *Ashrāqī* (?) and 5 and 6 amīrs came in and waited on me.

Today guerdon was bestowed on Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. and Tūkhta-būghā Sl., of swords and daggers with belts, cuirasses, dresses of honour, and *tīpūchāq* horses; also they were made to kneel, Aīsān-tīmūr Sl. for the grant of 36 *laks* from the Nārṇūl *pargana*, Tūkhta-bughā Sl. for 30 *laks* from that of Shamsābād.

(*hhh. Pursuit of Bāyazīd and Bīban.*)

(*May 23rd*) On Monday the 15th of the month (*Ramzān*), we marched from our ground belonging to Kūndbah (or Kūndīh) on the Sarū-river, with easy mind about Bihār and Bengal, and resolute to crush the traitors Bīban and Shaikh Bāyazīd.

(*May 25th*) On Wednesday (*17th*) after making two night-halts by the way, we dismounted at a passage across the Sarū, called Chaupāra-Chaturmūk of Sikandarpūr.<sup>1</sup> From today people were busy in crossing the river.

As news began to come again and again that the traitors, after crossing Sarū and Gogar,<sup>2</sup> were going toward Luknū,<sup>3</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Chaupāra is at the Sāran end of the ferry, at the Sikandarpūr one is Chatur-mūk (Four-faces, an epithet of Brahma and Vishnu).

<sup>2</sup> It may be inferred from the earlier use of the phrase Gogar (or Gagar) and Sarū (Sīrū or Sird), on f. 338-86, that whereas the rebels were, earlier, for crossing Sarū only, *i.e.* the Ghogrā below its confluence with the Sarda, they had now changed for crossing above the confluence and further north. Such a change is explicable by desire to avoid encounter with Bābur's following, here perhaps the army of Aūd, and the same desire is manifested by their abandonment of a fort captured (f. 377*b*) some days before the rumour reached Bābur of their crossing Sarū and Gogar.—Since translating the passage on f. 338, I have been led, by enforced attention to the movement of the confluence of Ghogrā with Ganges (Sarū with Gang) to see that that translation, eased in obedience to distances shewn in maps, may be wrong and that Bābur's statement that he dismounted 2-3 *kurohs* (4-6 m.) above Aūd at the confluence of Gogar with Sarū, may have some geographical interest and indicate movement of the two affluents such *e.g.* as is indicated of the Ganges and Ghogrā by tradition and by the name *Burh-ganga* (cf. f. 370, p. 667, n. 2).

<sup>3</sup> or L:knūr, perhaps Liknū or Līknūr. The capricious variation in the MSS.

following leaders were appointed to bar (their) crossing<sup>1</sup> :—The Turk and Hind amīrs Jalālu'd-dīn *Sharqī*, 'Alī Khān *Farmūlī*; Tardīka (or, Tardī *yakka*), Nizām Khān of Bīāna, together with Tūlmish *Aūzbeḡ*, Qurbān of Chīrk and Daryā Khān (of Bhīra's son) Hasan Khān. They were given leave to go on the night of Thursday.<sup>2</sup>

(iii. *Damage done to the Bābur-nāma writings.*)

That same night when 1 watch (*pās*), 5 *garīs* had passed (*cir.* 10.55 p.m.) and the *tarāwīḡ*-prayers were over,<sup>3</sup> such a storm burst, in the inside of a moment, from the up-piled clouds of the Rainy-season, and such a stiff gale rose, that few tents were left standing. I was in the Audience-tent, about to write (*kitābat qīlā dūr aīdīm*); before I could collect papers and sections,<sup>4</sup> the tent came down, with its porch, right on my head. The *tūnglūḡ* went to pieces.<sup>5</sup> God preserved me! no harm befell me! Sections and book<sup>6</sup> were drenched under water and gathered together with much difficulty. We laid them in the folds of a woollen throne-carpet,<sup>7</sup> put this on the throne and on it piled blankets. The storm quieted down in about 2 *garīs* (45 m.); the

between L:knū and L:knūr makes the movements of the rebels difficult to follow. Comment on these variants, tending to identify the places behind the words, is grouped in Appendix T, *On L:knū (Lakhnau) and L:knūr (Lakhnār)*.

<sup>1</sup> Taking *guḡr* in the sense it has had hitherto in the *Bābur-nāma* of ferry or ford, the detachment may have been intended to block the river-crossings of "Sarū and Gogar". If so, however, the time for this was past, the rebels having taken a fort west of those rivers on Ramzān 13th. Nothing further is heard of the detachment.—That news of the rebel-crossing of the rivers did not reach Bābur before the 18th and news of their capture of L:knū or L:knūr before the 19th may indicate that they had crossed a good deal to the north of the confluence, and that the fort taken was one more remote than Lakhnau (Oude). Cf. Appendix T.

<sup>2</sup> Anglicé, Wednesday after 6 p.m.

<sup>3</sup> These are recited late in the night during Ramzān.

<sup>4</sup> *kaḡhaz u ajāḡ*, perhaps writing-paper and the various sections of the *Bābur-nāma* writings, *viz.* biographical notices, descriptions of places, detached lengths of diary, *farmāns* of Shaikh Zain. The *lacunae* of 934 A.H., 935 A.H., and perhaps earlier ones also may be attributed reasonably to this storm. It is easy to understand the loss of *e.g.* the conclusion of the Farghāna section, and the diary one of 934 A.H., if they lay partly under water. The accident would be better realized in its disastrous results to the writings, if one knew whether Bābur wrote in a bound or unbound volume. From the minor losses of 935 A.H., one guesses that the current diary at least had not reached the stage of binding.

<sup>5</sup> The *tūnglūḡ* is a flap in a tent-roof, allowing light and air to enter, or smoke to come out.

<sup>6</sup> *ajāḡ u kitāb*. See last note but one. The *kitāb* (book) might well be Bābur's composed narrative on which he was now working, as far as it had then gone towards its untimely end (Hai. MS. f. 216b).

<sup>7</sup> *saḡarlāt kut-xīlūcha*, where *saḡarlāt* will mean warm and woollen.

bedding-tent was set up, a lamp lighted, and, after much trouble, a fire kindled. We, without sleep, were busy till shoot of day drying folios and sections.

(*jjj. Pursuit of Biban and Bāyasīd resumed.*)

(*May 26th*) I crossed the water on Thursday morning (*Ramān 18th*).

(*May 27th*) On Friday (*19th*) I rode out to visit Sikandarpūr and Kharīd.<sup>1</sup> Today came matters written by 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*) and Bāqī about the taking of Luknūr.<sup>2</sup>

(*May 28th*) On Saturday (*20th*) Kūkī was sent ahead, with a troop, to join Bāqī.<sup>3</sup>

(*May 29th*) That nothing falling to be done before my arrival might be neglected, leave to join Bāqī was given on Sunday (*21st*) to Sl. Junaid *Barlās*, Khalifa's (son) Ḥasan, Mullā Apāq's Fol. 377. retainers, and the elder and younger brethren of Mumin Ātāka.

Today at the Other Prayer a special dress of honour and a *tīpūchāq* horse were bestowed on Shāh Muḥammad (son) of Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, and leave to go was given. As had been done last year (934AH.), an allowance from Sāran and Kūndla<sup>4</sup> was bestowed on him for the maintenance of quiver-wearers. Today too an allowance of 72 *laks*<sup>5</sup> from Sarwār and a *tīpūchāq* horse were bestowed on Ismā'il *Jalwānī*, and his leave was given.

About the boats Gunjāish and Arāish it was settled with Bengalīs that they should take them to Ghāzīpūr by way of Tīr-mūhānī.<sup>6</sup> The boats Asāish and Farmāish were ordered taken up the Sarū with the camp.

(*May 30th*) On Monday (*Ramṣān 22nd*) we marched from the Chaupāra-Chaturmūk passage along the Sarū, with mind at ease about Bihār and Sarwār,<sup>7</sup> and after doing as much as 10 *kurohs*

<sup>1</sup> Kharīd-town is some 4 m. s.e. of the town of Sikandarpūr.

<sup>2</sup> or L:knū. Cf. Appendix T. It is now 14 days since 'Abdu'l-lāh *kitābdār* had left Tīr-mūhānī (f. 380) for Sambhal; as he was in haste, there had been time for him to go beyond Aūd (where Bāqī was) and yet get the news to Bābur on the 19th.

<sup>3</sup> In a way not usual with him, Bābur seems to apply three epithets to this follower, viz. *mīng-beḡī*, *shaghūrwal*, *Tūshkīnār* (Index s.n.).

<sup>4</sup> or Kandla; cf. Revenue list f. 293; is it now Sāran Khāṣ?

<sup>5</sup> £18,000 (Erskine). For the total yield of Kūndla (or Kandla) and Sarwār, see Revenue list (f. 293).

<sup>6</sup> f. 375, p. 675 n. 2 and f. 381, p. 687 n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> A little earlier Bābur has recorded his ease of mind about Bihār and Bengal, the fruit doubtless of his victory over Maḥmūd *Lūdī* and Naṣrat Shāh; he now does the



Fol. 377<sup>b</sup>. (20m.) dismounted on the Sarū in a village called Kilirah (?) dependent on Fathpūr.<sup>1</sup>

(*kek.* *A surmised survival of the record of 934 A.H.*<sup>2</sup>)

\* After spending several days pleasantly in that place where there are gardens, running-waters, well-designed buildings, trees, particularly mango-trees, and various birds of coloured plumage, I ordered the march to be towards Ghāzīpūr.

Ismā'il Khān *Jalwānī* and 'Alā'ul Khān *Nūḥānī* had it represented to me that they would come to Āgra after seeing their native land (*watn*). On this the command was, "I will give an order in a month."<sup>3</sup>

same about Bihār and Sarwār, no doubt because he has replaced in Bihār, as his tributaries, the Nūḥānī chiefs and has settled other Afghāns, Jalwānīs and Farmūlīs in a Sarwār cleared of the Jalwānī (?) rebel Bīban and the Farmūlī opponents Bāyazīd and Ma'rūf. The Farmūlī Shaikh-zādas, it may be recalled, belonged by descent to Bābur's Kābul district of Farmūl.—The *Wāqī'āt-i-mushūqī* (E. & D.'s *H. of I.* iv, 548) details the position of the clan under Sikandar *Lūdī*.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. write Fathpūr but Nathpūr suits the context, a *pargana* mentioned in the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* and now in the 'Azamgarh district. There seems to be no Fathpūr within Bābur's limit of distance. The *D. G. of 'Azamgarh* mentions two now insignificant Fathpūrs, one as having a school, the other a market. The name G:l:r:h (K:l:r:h) I have not found.

<sup>2</sup> The passage contained in this section seems to be a survival of the lost record of 934 AH. (f. 339). I have found it only in the *Memoirs* p. 420, and in Mr. Erskine's own Codex of the *Wāqī'āt-i-bāburī* (now B.M. Add. 26,200), f. 371 where however several circumstances isolate it from the context. It may be a Persian translation of an authentic Turki fragment, found, perhaps with other such fragments, in the Royal Library. Its wording disassociates it from the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm text. The Codex (No. 26,200) breaks off at the foot of a page (*supra*, Fathpūr) with a completed sentence. The supposedly-misplaced passage is entered on the next folio as a sort of ending of the Bābur-nāma writings; in a rough script, inferior to that of the Codex, and is followed by *Tam, tam* (Finis), and an incomplete date 98-, in words. Beneath this a line is drawn, on which is subtended the triangle frequent with scribes; within this is what seems to be a completion of the date to 980 AH. and a pious wish, scrawled in an even rougher hand than the rest.—Not only in diction and in script but in contents also the passage is a misfit where it now stands; it can hardly describe a village on the Sarū; Bābur in 935 AH. did not march for Ghāzīpūr but may have done so in 934 AH. (p. 656, n. 3); Ismā'il *Jalwānī* had had leave given already in 935 AH. (f. 377) under other conditions, ones bespeaking more trust and tried allegiance.—Possibly the place described as having fine buildings, gardens *etc.* is Aūd (Ajodhya) where Bābur spent some days in 934 AH. (cf. f. 363<sup>b</sup>, p. 655 n. 3).

<sup>3</sup> "Here my Persian manuscript closes" (This is B.M. Add. 26,200). "The two additional fragments are given from Mr. Metcalfe's manuscript alone" (now B.M. Add. 26,202) "and unluckily, it is extremely incorrect" (Erskine). This note will have been written perhaps a decade before 1826, in which year the *Memoirs of Bābur* was published, after long delay. Mr. Erskine's own Codex (No. 26,200) was made good at a later date, perhaps when he was working on his *History of India* (pub. 1854), by a well-written supplement which carries the diary to its usual end *s.a.* 936 AH. and also gives Persian translations of Bābur's letters to Humāyūn and Khwāja Kalān.

*(III. The westward march resumed.)*

(*May 31st*) Those who marched early (*Tuesday, Ramzān 23rd*), having lost their way, went to the great lake of Fathpūr (?).<sup>1</sup> People were sent galloping off to fetch back such as were near and Kīchīk Khwāja was ordered to spend the night on the lake-shore and to bring the rest on next morning to join the camp. We marched at dawn ; I got into the Asāish half-way and had it towed to our ground higher up.

*(mm. Details of the capture of a fort by Bīban and Bāyazīd.)*

On the way up, Khalīfa brought Shāh Muḥammad *dīwāna's* son who had come from Bāqī bringing this reliable news about Luknūr<sup>2</sup> :—They (*i.e.* Bīban and Bāyazīd) hurled their assault on Saturday the 13th of the month Ramzān (*May 21st*) but could do nothing by fighting ; while the fighting was going on, a collection of wood-chips, hay, and thorns in the fort took fire, so that inside the walls it became as hot as an oven (*tanūrdīk tafsān*) ; the garrison could not move round the rampart ; the fort was lost. When the enemy heard, two or three days later, of our return (westwards), he fled towards Dalmau.<sup>3</sup>

Today after doing as much as 10 *kurohs* (20 m.), we dismounted beside a village called Jalisir,<sup>4</sup> on the Sarū-bank, in the Sagrī *pargāna*.

(*June 1st*) We stayed on the same ground through Wednesday (*24th*), in order to rest our cattle.

*(nnn. Dispositions against Bīban and Bāyazīd.)*

Some said they had heard that Bīban and Bāyazīd had crossed Gang, and thought of withdrawing themselves to their kinsfolk Fol. 378.

<sup>1</sup> Here, as earlier, Nathpūr suits the context better than Fathpūr. In the Nathpūr *pargana*, at a distance from Chaupāra approximately suiting Bābur's statement of distance, is the lake "Tal Ratoi", formerly larger and deeper than now. There is a second further west and now larger than Tal Ratoi ; through this the Ghogrā once flowed, and through it has tried within the last half-century to break back. These changes in Tal Ratoi and in the course of the Ghogrā dictate caution in attempting to locate places which were on it in Bābur's day *e.g.* K:l:r:h (*supra*).

<sup>2</sup> Appendix T.

<sup>3</sup> This name has the following variants in the Hai. MS. and in Kehr's :—Dalm-ū-ūū -ūr-ūd-ūt. The place was in Akbar's *sarkār* of Mānikpūr and is now in the Rai Bareilly district.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Chaksar, which was in Akbar's *sarkār* of Jūnpūr, and is now in the 'Azamgarh district.

(*nisbahsīlār*) by way of . . . . .<sup>1</sup> Here-upon the begs were summoned for a consultation and it was settled that Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā and Sl. Junaid *Barlās* who in place of Jūnpūr had been given Chunār with several *parganas*, Maḥmud Khān *Nūhānī*, Qāzī Jīā, and Tāj Khān *Sarāng-khānī* should block the enemy's road at Chunār.<sup>2</sup>

(*June 2nd*) Marching early in the morning of Thursday (*25th*), we left the Sarū-river, did 11 *kurohs* (22 m.), crossed the Parsarū (Sarjū) and dismounted on its bank.

Here the begs were summoned, discussion was had, and the leaders named below were appointed to go detached from the army, in rapid pursuit of Bīban and Bāyazīd towards Dalmūt (Dalmau) :—Aīsān-tīmūr Sl., Muḥammad Sl. M., Tūkhta-būghā Sl., Qāsīm-i-ḥusain Sl., Bī-khūb (Nī-khūb) Sl., Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain Sl., Qāsīm Khwāja, Ja'far Khwāja, Zahid Khwāja, Jānī Beg, 'Askari's retainer Kīchik Khwāja, and, of Hind amīrs, 'Ālam Khān of Kālpī, Malik-dād *Kararānī*, and Rāo (Rāwūi) *Sarwānī*.  
(*ooo. The march continued.*)

When I went at night to make ablution in the Parsarū, people were catching a mass of fish that had gathered round a lamp on the surface of the water. I like others took fish in my hands.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hai. MS. *J: nāra khūnd tawābī sī bila* (perhaps *tawābī'sī* but not so written). The obscurity of these words is indicated by their variation in the manuscripts. Most scribes have them as Chunār and Jūnpūr, guided presumably by the despatch of a force to Chunār on receipt of the news, but another force was sent to Dalmau at the same time. The rebels were defeated s.w. of Dalmau and thence went to Mahūba; it is not certain that they had crossed the Ganges at Dalmau; there are difficulties in supposing the fort they captured and abandoned was Lakhnau (Oude); they might have gone south to near Kālpī and Adampūr, which are at no great distance from where they were defeated by Bāqī *shaghāwal*, if Lakhnūr (now Shahābād in Rāmpūr) were the fort. (Cf. Appendix T.)—To take up the interpretation of the words quoted above, at another point, that of the kinsfolk or fellow-Afghāns the rebels planned to join :—these kinsfolk may have been, of Bāyazīd, the Farmūlis in Sarwār, and of Bīban, the Jalwānis of the same place. The two may have trusted to relationship for harbourage during the Rains, disloyal though they were to their kinsmen's accepted suzerain. Therefore if they were once across Ganges and Jumna, as they were in Mahūba, they may have thought of working eastwards south of the Ganges and of getting north into Sarwār through territory belonging to the Chunār and Jūnpūr governments. This however is not expressed by the words quoted above; perhaps Bābur's record was hastily and incompletely written.—Another reading may be Chunār and Jaund (in Akbar's *sarkār* of Rohtās).

<sup>2</sup> *yūlinī rūshgāilār*. It may be observed concerning the despatch of Muḥammad-i-zamān M. and of Junaid *Barlās* that they went to their new appointments Jūnpūr and Chunār respectively; that their doing so was an orderly part of the winding-up of Bābur's Eastern operations; that they remained as part of the Eastern garrison, on duty apart from that of blocking the road of Bīban and Bāyazīd.

<sup>3</sup> This mode of fishing is still practised in India (Erskine).

(June 3rd) On Friday (26th) we dismounted on a very slender stream, the head-water of a branch of the Parsarū. In order not to be disturbed by the comings and goings of the army-folk, I had it dammed higher up and had a place, 10 by 10, made for ablution. The night of the 27th<sup>1</sup> was spent on this ground. Fol. 378b.

(June 4th) At the dawn of the same day (Saturday 27th) we left that water, crossed the Tūs and dismounted on its bank.<sup>2</sup>

(June 5th) On Sunday (28th) we dismounted on the bank of the same water.

(June 6th) On Monday the 29th of the month (Ramzān), our station was on the bank of the same Tūs-water. Though tonight the sky was not quite clear, a few people saw the Moon, and so testifying to the Qāzī, fixed the end of the month (Ramzān).

(June 7th) On Tuesday (Shawwāl 1st) we made the Prayer of the Festival, at dawn rode on, did 10 *kurohs* (20 m.), and dismounted on the bank of the Gūi (Gūmtī), a *kuroh* (2 m.) from Māing.<sup>3</sup> The sin of *ma'jūn* was committed (*irtikāb qilūldī*) near the Mid-day Prayer; I had sent this little couplet of invitation to Shaikh Zain, Mullā Shihāb and Khwānd-amīr :—

(Turki) Shaikh and Mullā Shihāb and Khwānd-amīr,  
Come all three, or two, or one.

Darwīsh-i-muḥammad (Sārbān), Yūnas-i-'alī and 'Abdu'l-lāh ('*asas*)<sup>4</sup> were also there. At the Other Prayer the wrestlers set to.

(June 8th) On Wednesday (2nd) we stayed on the same ground. Near breakfast-time *ma'jūn* was eaten. Today Malik Sharq came in who had been to get Tāj Khān out of Chunār.<sup>5</sup> When the wrestlers set to today, the Champion of Aūd who had come earlier, grappled with and threw a Hindūstānī wrestler who had Fol. 379.

Today Yaḥyā *Nuḥānī* was granted an allowance of 15 *laks*

<sup>1</sup> Islāmicé, Saturday night; Anglicé, Friday after 6 p.m.

<sup>2</sup> This Tūs, "Tousin, or Tons, is a branch from the Ghogrā coming off above Faizābād and joining the Sarju or Parsarū below 'Azamgarh" (Erskine).

<sup>3</sup> Kehr's MS. p. 1132, Māng (or Mānk); Hai. MS. Tāik; I.O. 218 f. 328 Bāk; I.O. 217 f. 236b, Biāk. Māing in the Sultānpūr district seems suitably located (*D.G. of Sultānpūr*, p. 162).

<sup>4</sup> This will be the night-guard ('*asas*'); the librarian (*kitābdār*) is in Sambhal. I.O. 218 f. 325 inserts *kitābdār* after 'Abdu'l-lāh's name where he is recorded as sent to Sambhal (f. 375).

<sup>5</sup> He will have announced to Tāj Khān the transfer of the fort to Junaid *Barlūs*.

from Parsarūr,<sup>1</sup> made to put on a dress of honour, and given his leave.

(*June 9th*) Next day (*Thursday 3rd*) we did 11 *kurohs* (22 m.), crossed the Gūi-water (*Gūmtī*), and dismounted on its bank.

(*ppp. Concerning the pursuit of Biban and Bāyazīd.*)

News came in about the sultāns and begs of the advance that they had reached Dalmūd (*Dalmau*), but were said not yet to have crossed the water (*Ganges*). Angered by this (delay), I sent orders, "Cross the water at once; follow the track of the rebels; cross Jūn (*Jumna*) also; join 'Ālam Khān to yourselves; be energetic and get to grips with the adversary."

(*qqq. The march continued.*)

(*June 10th*) After leaving this water (*Gūmtī, Friday 4th*) we made two night-halts and reached Dalmūd (*Dalmau*), where most of the army-folk crossed Gang, there and then, by a ford. While the camp was being got over, *ma'jūn* was eaten on an island (*ārāl*) below the ford.

(*June 13th*) After crossing, we waited one day (*Monday 7th*) for all the army-folk to get across. Today Bāqī *Tāshkīndī* came in with the army of Aūd (*Ajodhya*) and waited on me.

(*June 14th*) Leaving the Gang-water (*Ganges, Tuesday 8th*), we made one night-halt, then dismounted (*June 15th-Shawwāl 9th*) beside Kūrarah (*Kūra Khāṣ*) on the Arind-water. The distance from Dalmūd (*Dalmau*) to Kūrarah came out at 22 *kurohs* (44 m.).<sup>2</sup>

(*June 16th*) On Thursday (*10th*) we marched early from that ground and dismounted opposite the Ādampūr *pargana*.<sup>3</sup>

To enable us to cross (*Jūn*) in pursuit of our adversaries, a few raftsmen had been sent forward to collect at Kālpī what boats were to be had; some boats arrived the night we dismounted, moreover a ford was found through the Jūn-river.

As the encamping-place was full of dust, we settled ourselves

<sup>1</sup> 3750. Parsarūr was in Akbar's *sūbah* of Lāhor; G. of I. xx, 23, Pasrūr.

<sup>2</sup> The estimate may have been made by measurement (f. 356) or by counting a horse's steps (f. 370). Here the Hai. MS. and Kehr's have D:lmūd, but I.O. 218 f. 328b (D:lmūū).

<sup>3</sup> As on f. 361b, so here, Bābur's wording tends to locate Ādampūr on the right (west) bank of the Jumna.

on an island and there stayed the several days we were on that ground.

(*rrr. Concerning Bīban and Bāyazīd.*)

Not getting reliable news about the enemy, we sent Bāqī *shaghāwāl* with a few braves of the interior<sup>1</sup> to get information about him.

(*June 17th*) Next day (*Friday 11th*) at the Other Prayer, one of Bāqī Beg's retainers came in. Bāqī had beaten scouts of Bīban and Bāyazīd, killed one of their good men, Mubārak Khān *Jalwānī*, and some others, sent in several heads, and one man alive.

(*June 18th*) At dawn (*Saturday 12th*) Paymaster Shāh Ḥusain came in, told the story of the beating of the scouts, and gave various news.

Tonight, that is to say, the night of Sunday the 13th of the month,<sup>2</sup> the river Jūn came down in flood, so that by the dawn, the whole of the island on which I was settled, was under water. I moved to another an arrow's-flight down-stream, there had a tent set up and settled down.

(*June 20th*) On Monday (*14th*) Jalāl *Tāshkīndī* came from the begs and sulṭāns of the advance. Shaikh Bāyazīd and Bīban, on hearing of their expedition, had fled to the *pargana* of Mahūba.<sup>3</sup>

Fol. 380.

As the Rains had set in and as after 5 or 6 months of active service, horses and cattle in the army were worn out, the sulṭāns and begs of the expedition were ordered to remain where they were till they received fresh supplies from Āgra and those parts. At the Other Prayer of the same day, leave was given to Bāqī and the army of Aūd (Ajodhya). Also an allowance of 30 *lāks*<sup>4</sup> from Amrohā was assigned to Mūsa (son) of Ma'rūf *Farmūlī*, who had waited on me at the time the returning army was crossing the Sarū-water,<sup>5</sup> a special head-to-foot and saddled horse were bestowed on him, and he was given his leave.

<sup>1</sup> Hai. MS. *āuta*, presumably for *āūrta*; Kehr's p. 1133, Aūd-dāghī, which, as Bāqī led the Aūd army, is *ben trovato*; both Persian translations, *mīāngānī*, central, inner, *i.e.* *āūrta*, perhaps household troops of the Centre.

<sup>2</sup> Anglicé, Saturday 12th after 6 p.m.

<sup>3</sup> In Akbar's *sarkār* of Kālanjar, now in the Hamirpūr district.

<sup>4</sup> ₹7500 (Erskine). Amrohā is in the Morādābād district.

<sup>5</sup> At the Chaupāra-Chaturmūk ferry (f. 376).—*Corrigendum* :—In the Index of the *Bābur-nāma Facsimile*, Mūsa *Farmūlī* and Mūsa Sl. are erroneously entered as if one man.

(*sss. Bābur returns to Āgra.*)

(*June 21st*) With an easy mind about these parts, we set out for Āgra, raid-fashion,<sup>1</sup> when 3 *pās* 1 *garī* of Tuesday night were past.<sup>2</sup> In the morning (*Tuesday 15th*) we did 16 *kurohs* (32 m.), near mid-day made our nooning in the *pargana* of Balādar, one of the dependencies of Kālpī, there gave our horses barley, at the Evening Prayer rode on, did 13 *kurohs* (26 m.) in the night, at the 3rd night-watch (*mid-night, Shawwāl 15-16th*) dismounted at Bahādur Khān *Sarwānī's* tomb at Sūgandpūr, a *pargana* of Kālpī, slept a little, went through the Morning Prayer and hurried on. After doing 16 *kurohs* (32 m.), we reached Etāwa at the fall of day, where Mahdī Khwāja came out to meet us.<sup>3</sup> Riding on after the 1st night-watch (9 p.m.), we slept a little on the way, did 16 *kurohs* (32 m.), took our nooning at Fathpūr of Rāprī, rode on soon after the Mid-day Prayer (*Thursday Shawwāl 17th*), did 17 *kurohs* (34 m.), and in the 2nd night-watch<sup>4</sup> dismounted in the Garden-of-eight-paradises at Āgra.

Fol. 380b.

(*June 24th*) At the dawn of Friday (*18th*) Pay-master Sl. Muḥammad came with several more to wait on me. Towards the Mid-day Prayer, having crossed Jūn, I waited on Khwāja 'Abdu'l-ḥaqq, went into the Fort and saw the begīms my paternal-aunts. (*itt. Indian-grown fruits.*)

A Balkhī melon-grower had been set to raise melons ; he now brought a few first-rate small ones ; on one or two bush-vines (*būta-tāk*) I had had planted in the Garden-of-eight-paradises very good grapes had grown ; Shaikh Gūran sent me a basket of grapes which too were not bad. To have grapes and melons grown in this way in Hindūstān filled my measure of content.

(*uuu. Arrival of Māhīm Begīm.*)

(*June 26th*) Māhīm arrived while yet two watches of Sunday night (*Shawwāl 20th*)<sup>5</sup> remained. By a singular agreement

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* riding light and fast. The distance done between Ādampūr and Āgra was some 157 miles, the time was from 12 a.m. on Tuesday morning to about 9 p.m. of Thursday. This exploit serves to show that three years of continuous activity in the plains of Hindūstān had not destroyed Bābur's capacity for sustained effort, spite of several attacks of (malarial?) fever.

<sup>2</sup> Anglicé, Tuesday 12.25 a.m.

<sup>3</sup> He was governor of Etāwa.

<sup>4</sup> Islamicé, Friday, Shawwāl 18th, Anglicé, Thursday, June 24th, soon after 9 p.m.

<sup>5</sup> Anglicé, she arrived at mid-night of Saturday.—Gul-badan writes of Māhīm's arrival as unexpected and of Bābur's hurrying off on foot to meet her (*Fumāyūn-nāma* f. 14, trs. p. 100).

of things they had left Kābul on the very day, the 10th of the 1st Jumāda (*Jan. 21st 1529*) on which I rode out to the army.<sup>1</sup>

(*Here the record of 11 days is wanting.*)

(*July 7th*) On Thursday the 1st of Zū'l-qa'da the offerings made by Humāyūn and Māhīm were set out while I sat in the large Hall of Audience.

Today also wages were given to 150 porters (*kahār*) and they were started off under a servant of Faghfūr *Dīwān* to fetch melons, grapes, and other fruits from Kābul.

Fol. 381.

(*vvv. Concerning Sambhal.*)

(*July 9th*) On Saturday the 3rd of the month, Hindū Beg who had come as escort from Kābul and must have been sent to Sambhal on account of the death of 'Alī-i-yūsuf, came and waited on me.<sup>2</sup> Khalifa's (son) Ḥusāmu'd-dīn came also today from Alwār and waited on me.

(*July 10th*) On Sunday morning (*4th*) came 'Abdu'l-lāh (*kitābdār*), who from Tīr-mūhānī<sup>3</sup> had been sent to Sambhal on account of the death of 'Alī-i-yūsuf.

(*Here the record of 7 days is wanting.*)

(*vvvv. Sedition in Lāhor.*)

People from Kābul were saying that Shaikh Sharaf of Qarā-bāgh, either incited by 'Abdu'l-'azīz or out of liking for him, had written an attestation which attributed to me oppression I had not done, and outrage that had not happened; that he

<sup>1</sup> Māhīm's journey from Kābul to Āgra had occupied over 5 months.

<sup>2</sup> Hindū Beg *qūchīn* had been made Humāyūn's retainer in 932 AH. (f. 297), and had taken possession of Sambhal for him. Hence, as it seems, he was ordered, while escorting the ladies from Kābul, to go to Sambhal. He seems to have gone before waiting on Bābur, probably not coming into Āgra till now.—It may be noted here that in 933 AH. he transformed a Hindū temple into a Mosque in Sambhal; it was done by Bābur's orders and is commemorated by an inscription still existing on the Mosque, one seeming not to be of his own composition, judging by its praise of himself. (JASB. *Proceedings*, May 1873, p. 98, Blochmann's art. where the inscription is given and translated; and *Archaeological Survey Reports*, xii, p. 24-27, with Plates showing the Mosque).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. f. 375, f. 377, with notes concerning 'Abdu'l-lāh and Tīr-mūhānī. I have not found the name Tīr-mūhānī on maps; its position can be inferred from Bābur's statement (f. 375) that he had sent 'Abdu'l-lāh to Sambhal, he being then at Kunba or Kunia in the Nurhun *pargana*.—The name Tīr-mūhānī occurs also in Gorakhpūr.—It was at Tīr-mūhānī (Three-mouths) that Khwānd-amīr completed the *Ḥabībū's-siyar* (lith. ed. i, 83; Rieu's *Pers. Cat.* p. 1079). If the name imply three water-mouths, they might be those of Ganges, Ghogrā and Dāhā.



had extorted the signatures of the Prayer-leaders (*imāmlār*) of Lāhor to this accusation, and had sent copies of it to the various towns ; that 'Abdu'l-'azīz himself had failed to give ear to several royal orders, had spoken unseemly words, and done acts which ought to have been left undone. On account of these matters Qaṃbar-i-'alī *Arghūn* was started off on Sunday the 11th of the month (*Zū'l-qa'da*), to arrest Shaikh Sharaf, the Lāhor *imāms* with their associates, and 'Abdu'l-'azīz, and to bring them all to Court.

(xxx. *Varia.*)

(*July 22nd*) On Thursday the 15th of the month Chīn-tīmūr Sl. came in from Tijāra and waited on me. Today Champion Fol. 381b. Ṣādiq and the great champion-wrestler of Aūd wrestled. Ṣādiq gave a half-throw<sup>1</sup> ; he was much vexed.

(*July 28th*) On Monday the 19th of the month (*Zū'l-qa'da*) the Qizil-bāsh envoy Murād the life-guardsman was made to put on an inlaid dagger with belt, and a befitting dress of honour, was presented with 2 *laks* of *tankas* and given leave to go.

(*Here the record of 15 days is wanting.*)

(yyy. *Sedition in Gūālīār.*)

(*August 11th*) Sayyid Mashhadī who had come from Gūālīār in these days, represented that Raḥīm-dād was stirring up sedition.<sup>2</sup> On account of this, Khalīfa's servant Shāh Muḥammad the seal-bearer was sent to convey to Raḥīm-dād matters written with commingling of good counsel. He went ; and in a few days came back bringing Raḥīm-dād's son, but, though the son came, Raḥīm-dād himself had no thought of coming. On Wednesday the 5th of *Zū'l-hijja*, Nūr Beg was sent to Gūālīār

<sup>1</sup> *nīm-kāra*. E. and de C. however reverse the *rōles*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tārīkh-i-gūālīārī* (B.M. Add. 16,709, p. 18) supplements the fragmentary accounts which, above and *s.a.* 936 A.H., are all that the *Bābur-nāma* now preserves concerning Khwāja Raḥīm-dād's misconduct. It has several mistakes but the gist of its information is useful. It mentions that the Khwāja and his paternal-uncle Mahdī Khwāja had displeased Bābur ; that Raḥīm-dād resolved to take refuge with the ruler of Mālwa (Muḥammad *Khiljī*) and to make over Gūālīār to a Rājput landholder of that country ; that upon this Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghaus* went to Agra and interceded with Bābur and obtained his forgiveness for Raḥīm-dād. Gūālīār was given back to Raḥīm-dād but after a time he was superseded by Abū'l-faṭḥ [Shaikh Gūran]. For particulars about Mahdī Khwāja and a singular story told about him by Niẓām'ud-din Ahmad in the *Tabaqāt-i-akbarī*, *vide* Gul-badan's *Humāyūn-nāma*, Appendix B, and *Translator's Note* p. 702, Section *f*.

to allay Raḥīm-dād's fears, came back in a few days, and laid requests from Raḥīm-dād before us. Orders in accordance with those requests had been written and were on the point of despatch when one of Raḥīm-dād's servants arriving, represented that he had come to effect the escape of the son and that Raḥīm-dād himself had no thought of coming in. I was for riding out at once to Gūālīār, but Khalīfa set it forth to me, "Let me write one more letter commingled with good counsel; he may even yet come peacefully." On this mission Khusrau's (son?) Shihābu'd-dīn was despatched.

(August 12th) On Thursday the 6th of the month mentioned (Zū'l-hijja) Maḥdī Khwāja came in from Etāwa.<sup>1</sup>

Fol. 382.

(August 16th) On the Festival-day<sup>2</sup> (Monday 10th) Hindū Beg was presented with a special head-to-foot, an inlaid dagger with belt; also a *pargana* worth 7 *laks*<sup>3</sup> was bestowed on Ḥasan-i-'alī, well-known among the Turkmāns<sup>4</sup> for a Chaghatāi.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He may have come about the misconduct of his nephew Raḥīm-dād.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Īdu'l-kabīr, the Great Festival of 10th Zū'l-hijja.

<sup>3</sup> About £1750 (Erskine).

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps he was from the tract in Persia still called Chaghatāi Mountains. One Ibrāhīm Chaghatāi is mentioned by Bābur (f. 175b) with Turkmān begs who joined Ḥusain Bāi-qarā. This Ḥasan-i-'alī Chaghatāi may have come in like manner, with Murād the Turkmān envoy from 'Irāq (f. 369 and n. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Several incidents recorded by Gul-badan (writing half a century later) as following Māhīm's arrival in Āgra, will belong to the record of 935 AH. because they preceded Ḥumāyūn's arrival from Badakhshān. Their omission from Bābur's diary is explicable by its minor *lacuna*. Such are :—(1) a visit to Dhūlpūr and Sikrī the interest of which lies in its showing that Bibī Mubārīka had accompanied Māhīm Begīm to Āgra from Kābul, and that there was in Sikrī a quiet retreat, a *chaukanāt*, where Bābur "used to write his book";—(2) the arrival of the main caravan of ladies from Kābul, which led Bābur to go four miles out, to Naugrām, in order to give honouring reception to his sister Khān-zāda Begīm;—(3) an excursion to the Gold-scattering garden (*Bāgh-i-sar-afshān*), where seated among his own people, Bābur said he was "bowed down by ruling and reigning", longed to retire to that garden with a single attendant, and wished to make over his sovereignty to Ḥumāyūn;—(4) the death of Dil-dār's son Alwār (var. Anwār) whose birth may be assigned to the gap preceding 932 AH. because not chronicled later by Bābur, as is Farūq's. As a distraction from the sorrow for this loss, a journey was "pleasantly made by water" to Dhūlpūr.

936 AH.—SEP. 5<sup>TH</sup> 1529 to AUGUST 25<sup>TH</sup> 1530 AD.

(a. *Raḥīm-dād's affairs.*)

(*Sep. 7th*) On Wednesday the 3rd of Muḥarram, Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghauṣ*<sup>1</sup> came in from Gūālīār with Khusrau's (son) Shihābu'd-dīn to plead for Raḥīm-dād. As Shaikh Muḥammad *Ghauṣ* was a pious and excellent person, Raḥīm-dād's faults were forgiven for his sake. Shaikh Gūran and Nūr Beg were sent off for Gūālīār, so that the place having been made over to their charge . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. f. 381b n. 2. For his earlier help to Raḥīm-dād see f. 304. For Biographies of him see Blochmann's A.-i.-A. trs. p. 446, and Badāyūnī's *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* (Ranking's and Lowe's trss.).

<sup>2</sup> Beyond this broken passage, one presumably at the foot of a page in Bābur's own manuscript, nothing of his diary is now known to survive. What is missing seems likely to have been written and lost. It is known from a remark of Guḷ-badan's (H.N. p. 103) that he "used to write his book" after Māhīm's arrival in Āgra, the place coming into her anecdote being Sikri.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON 936 TO 937 AH.—1529 TO 1530 AD.

It is difficult to find material for filling the *lacuna* of some 15 months, which occurs in Bābur's diary after the broken passage of Muḥarram 3rd 936 AH. (Sept. 7th 1529 AD.) and down to the date of his death on Jumāda I. 6th 937 AH. (Dec. 26th 1530 AD.). The known original sources are few, their historical matter scant, their contents mainly biographical. Gleanings may yet be made, however, in unexpected places, such gleanings as are provided by Aḥmad-i-yādgār's interpolation of Timūrid history amongst his lives of Afghān Sulṭāns.

The earliest original source which helps to fill the gap of 936 AH. is Ḥaidar Mīrzā's *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, finished as to its Second Part which contains Bābur's biography, in 948 AH. (1541 AD.), 12 years therefore after the year of the gap 936 AH. It gives valuable information about the affairs of Badakhshān, based on its author's personal experience at 30 years of age, and was Abū'l-faẓl's authority for the *Akbar-nāma*.

The next in date of the original sources is Gul-badan Begīm's *Humāyūn-nāma*, a chronicle of family affairs, which she wrote in obedience to her nephew Akbar's command, given in about 995 AH. (1587 AD.), some 57 years after her Father's death, that whatever any person knew of his father (Humāyūn) and grandfather (Bābur) should be written down for Abū'l-faẓl's use. It embodies family memories and traditions, and presumably gives the recollections of several ladies of the royal circle.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jauhar's *Humāyūn-nāma* and Bāyazīd *Bīyāt's* work of the same title were written under the same royal command as the Begīm's. They contribute nothing towards filling the gap of 936 AH. ; their authors, being Humāyūn's servants, write about him. It may be observed that criticism of these books, as recording trivialities, is disarmed if they were commanded because they would obey an order to set down whatever was known, selection amongst their contents resting with Abū'l-faẓl. Even more completely must they be excluded from a verdict on the literary standard of their day.—Abū'l-faẓl must have had a source of Bāburiana which has not found its way into European libraries. A man likely to have contributed his recollections, directly or transmitted, is Khwāja Muqīm *Harāvī*. The date of Muqīm's death is conjectural only, but he lived long enough to impress the worth of historical writing on his son Nizāmu'-d-dīn Aḥmad. (Cf. E. and D.'s H. of I. art. *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* v, 177 and 187; T. -i-A. lith. ed. p. 193; and for Bāyazīd *Bīyāt's* work, JASB. 1898, p. 296.)

The *Akbar-nāma* derives much of its narrative for 936–937 AH. from Ḥaidar Mīrzā and Gul-badan Begīm, but its accounts of Bābur's self-surrender and of his dying address to his chiefs presuppose the help of information from a contemporary witness. It is noticeable that the *Akbar-nāma* records no public events as occurring in Hindūstān during 936–937 AH., nothing of the sequel of rebellion by Raḥīm-dād<sup>1</sup> and 'Abdu'l-'azīz, nothing of the untiring Biban and Bāyazīd. That something could have been told is shown by what Aḥmad-i-yādgār has preserved (*vide post*); but 50 years had passed since Bābur's death and, manifestly, interest in filling the *lacunæ* in his diary was then less keen than it is over 300 years later. What in the *Akbar-nāma* concerns Bābur is likely to have been written somewhat early in the *cir.* 15 years of its author's labours on it,<sup>2</sup> but, even so, the elder women of the royal circle had had rest after the miseries Humāyūn had wrought, the forgiveness of family affection would veil his past, and certainly has provided Abū'l-faḥr with an over-mellowed estimate of him, one ill-assorting with what is justified by his Bābur-nāma record.

The contribution made towards filling the gap of 936–937 AH. in the body of Niẓāmu-'d-dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* is limited to a curious and doubtfully acceptable anecdote about a plan for the supersession of Humāyūn as Pādshāh, and about the part played by Khwāja Muqīm *Harāwī* in its abandonment. A further contribution is made, however, in Book VII which contains the history of the Muḥammadan Kings of Kashmīr, namely, that Bābur despatched an expedition into that country. As no such expedition is recorded or referred to in surviving Bābur-nāma writings, it is likely to have been sent in 936AH. during Bābur's tour to and from Lāhor. If it were made with the aim of extending Tīmūrid authority in the Himālayan borderlands, a hint of similar policy elsewhere may be given by the ceremonious visit of the Rāja of Kahlūr to Bābur,

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Batuta (Lee's trs. p. 133) mentions that after his appointment to Gūālīār, Raḥīm-dād fell from favour . . . but was restored later, on the representation of Muḥammad Ghaṣṣ; held Gūālīār again for a short time, (he went to Bahādur Shāh in Gujrāt) and was succeeded by Abū'l-faḥr (*i.e.* Shaikh Gūran) who held it till Bābur's death.

<sup>2</sup> Its translation and explanatory noting have filled two decades of hard-working years. *Tanti labores auctoris et traductoris!*

mentioned by Aḥmad-i-yādgār (*vide post*).<sup>1</sup> The T.-i-A. was written within the term of Abū'l-fazl's work on the *Akbar-nāma*, being begun later, and ended about 9 years earlier, in 1002 AH.—1593 AD. It appears to have been Abū'l-fazl's authority for his account of the campaign carried on in Kashmīr by Bābur's chiefs (*Āyīn-i-akbarī* vol. ii, part i, Jarrett's trs. p. 389).

An important contribution, seeming to be authentic, is found interpolated in Aḥmad-i-yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-salātīn-i-afāghana*, one which outlines a journey made by Bābur to Lāhor in 936 AH. and gives circumstantial details of a punitive expedition sent by him from Sīhrind at the complaint of the Qāzī of Samāna against a certain Mundāhir Rājput. The whole contribution dovetails into matters found elsewhere. Its precision of detail bespeaks a closely-contemporary written source.<sup>2</sup> As its fullest passage concerns the Samāna Qāzī's affair, its basis of record may have been found in Samāna. Some considerations about the date of Aḥmad-i-yādgār's own book and what Niamatu'l-lāh says of Haibat Khān of Samāna, his own generous helper in the *Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-jahān Lūdī*, point towards Haibat Khān as providing the details of the Qāzī's wrongs and avenging. The indication is strengthened by the circumstance that what precedes and what follows the account of the punitive expedition is outlined only.<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad-i-yādgār interpolates an account of Humāyūn also, which is a frank plagiarism from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*. He tells too a story purporting to explain why Bābur "selected" Humāyūn to succeed him, one parallel with Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's about what led Khalīfa to abandon his plan of setting the Mīrzā aside. Its sole value lies in its testimony to a belief, held by its first narrator whoever he was, that choice was exercised in the matter by Bābur. Reasons for thinking Nizāmu'd-dīn's story, as it stands, highly improbable, will be found later in this note.

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my husband for acquaintance with Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's record about Bābur and Kashmīr.

<sup>2</sup> In view of the vicissitudes to which under Humāyūn the royal library was subjected, it would be difficult to assert that this source was not the missing continuation of Bābur's diary.

<sup>3</sup> E. and D.'s H. of I. art. *Tārīkh-i Khān-i-jahān Lūdī* v, 67. For Aḥmad-i-yādgār's book and its special features *vide l.c.* v, 2, 24, with notes; Rieu's *Persian Catalogue* iii, 922a; JASB. 1916, H. Beveridge's art. *Note on the Tārīkh-i-salātīn-i-afāghana*.

Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh *Firishta's Tārīkh-i-firishta* contains an interesting account of Bābur but contributes towards filling the gap in the events of 936–937 AH. little that is not in the earlier sources. In M. Jules Mohl's opinion it was under revision as late as 1623 AD. (1032–3 AH.).

*a. Humāyūn and Badakhshān.*

An occurrence which had important results, was the arrival of Humāyūn in Āgra, unsummoned by his Father, from the outpost station of Badakhshān. It will have occurred early in 936 AH. (autumn 1529 AD.), because he was in Kābul in the first ten days of the last month of 935 AH. (*vide post*). Curiously enough his half-sister Gul-badan does not mention his coming, whether through avoidance of the topic or from inadvertence; the omission may be due however to the loss of a folio from the only known MS. of her book (that now owned by the British Museum), and this is the more likely that Abū'l-faḡl writes, at some length, about the arrival and its motive, what the Begīm might have provided, this especially by his attribution of filial affection as Humāyūn's reason for coming to Āgra.

Ḥaidar Mīrzā is the authority for the Akbar-nāma account of Humāyūn's departure from Qīla'-i-ẓafar and its political and military sequel. He explains the departure by saying that when Bābur had subdued Hindūstān, his sons Humāyūn and Kāmṛān were grown-up; and that wishing to have one of them at hand in case of his own death, he summoned Humāyūn, leaving Kāmṛān in Qandahār. No doubt these were the contemporary impressions conveyed to Ḥaidar, and strengthened by the accomplished fact before he wrote some 12 years later; nevertheless there are two clear indications that there was no royal order for Humāyūn to leave Qīla'-i-ẓafar, *viz.* that no-one had been appointed to relieve him even when he reached Āgra, and that Abū'l-faḡl mentions no summons but attributes the Mīrzā's departure from his post to an overwhelming desire to see his Father. What appears probable is that Māhīm wrote to her son urging his coming to Āgra, and that this was represented as Bābur's wish. However little weight may be due to the rumour, preserved in anecdotes recorded long after 935 AH., that any-one, Bābur or Khalifa,

inclined against Humāyūn's succession, that rumour she would set herself to falsify by reconciliation.<sup>1</sup>

When the Mīrzā's intention to leave Qīla'-i-ẓafar became known there, the chiefs represented that they should not be able to withstand the Aūzbeg on their frontier without him (his troops implied).<sup>2</sup> With this he agreed, said that still he must go, and that he would send a Mīrzā in his place as soon as possible. He then rode, in one day, to Kābul, an item of rapid travel preserved by Abū'l-faẓl.

Humāyūn's departure caused such anxiety in Qīla'-i-ẓafar that some (if not all) of the Badakhshī chiefs hurried off an invitation to Sa'īd Khān *Chaghataī*, the then ruler in Kāshghar in whose service Ḥaidar Mīrzā was, to come at once and occupy the fort. They said that Faqīr-i-'alī who had been left in charge, was not strong enough to cope with the Aūzbeg, begged Sa'īd to come, and strengthened their petition by reminding him of his hereditary right to Badakhshān, derived from Shāh Begīm *Badakhshī*. Their urgency convincing the Khān that risk threatened the country, he started from Kāshghar in Muḥarram 936 AH. (Sept.—Oct. 1529 AD.). On reaching Sārigh-chūpān which by the annexation of Abā-bakr Mīrzā *Dūghlāt* was now his own most western territory<sup>3</sup> but which formerly was one of the upper districts of Badakhshān, he waited while Ḥaidar went on towards Qīla'-i-ẓafar only to learn on his road, that Hind-āl (*æt.* 10) had been sent from Kābul by Humāyūn and had entered the fort 12 days before.

The Kāshgharis were thus placed in the difficulty that the fort was occupied by Bābur's representative, and that the snows would prevent their return home across the mountains till winter was past. Winter-quarters were needed and asked for by Ḥaidar, certain districts being specified in which to await the re-opening of the Pāmīr routes. He failed in his request, "They did not trust us," he writes, "indeed suspected us of deceit." His own account of Sa'īd's earlier invasion of Badakhshān (925 AH.—1519 AD.) during Khān Mīrzā's rule, serves to explain Badakhshī

<sup>1</sup> Humāyūn's last recorded act in Hindūstān was that of 933 AH. (*f.* 329*b*) when he took unauthorized possession of treasure in Dihli.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. p. 387.

<sup>3</sup> T. i-R. trs. p. 353 *et seq.* and Mr. Ney Elias' notes.



distrust of Kāshgharīs. Failing in his negotiations, he scoured and pillaged the country round the fort, and when a few days later the Khān arrived, his men took what Ḥaidar's had left.

Sa'īd Khān is recorded to have besieged the fort for three months, but nothing serious seems to have been attempted since no mention of fighting is made, none of assault or sally, and towards the end of the winter he was waited on by those who had invited his presence, with apology for not having admitted him into the fort, which they said they would have done but for the arrival of Hind-āl Mīrzā. To this the Khān replied that for him to oppose Bābur Pādshāh was impossible; he reminded the chiefs that he was there by request, that it would be as hurtful for the Pādshāh as for himself to have the Aūzbeg in Badakhshān and, finally, he gave it as his opinion that, as matters stood, every man should go home. His view of the general duty may include that of Badakhshī auxiliaries such as Sulṭān Wais of Kūl-āb who had reinforced the garrison. So saying, he himself set out for Kāshghar, and at the beginning of Spring reached Yārkaṇd.

*b. Humāyūn's further action.*

Humāyūn will have reached Kābul before Zū'l-ḥijja 10th 935 AH. (Aug. 26th 1529 AD.) because it is on record that he met Kāmrān on the Kābul 'Īd-gāh, and both will have been there to keep the 'Īdu'l-kabīr, the Great Festival of Gifts, which is held on that day. Kāmrān had come from Qandahār, whether to keep the Feast, or because he had heard of Humāyūn's intended movement from Badakhshān, or because changes were foreseen and he coveted Kābul, as the *Bābur-nāma* and later records allow to be inferred. He asked Humāyūn, says Abū'l-faẓl, why he was there and was told of his brother's impending journey to Āgra under overwhelming desire to see their Father.<sup>1</sup> Presumably the two Mīrzās discussed the position in which Badakhshān had been left; in the end Hind-āl was sent to Qila'-i-ẓafar, notwithstanding that he was under orders for Hindūstān.

Humāyūn may have stayed some weeks in Kābul, how many those familiar with the seasons and the routes between Yārkaṇd

<sup>1</sup> Abū'l-faẓl's record of Humāyūn's sayings and minor doings at this early date in his career, can hardly be anything more accurate than family-tradition.

and Qila'-i-ẓafar, might be able to surmise if the date of Hind-āl's start northward for which Humāyūn is likely to have waited, were found by dovetailing the Muḥarram of Sa'īd's start, the approximate length of his journey to Sārīgh-chūpān, and Ḥaidar's reception of news that Hind-āl had been 12 days in the fort.

Humāyūn's arrival in Āgra is said by Abū'l-faẓl to have been cheering to the royal family in their sadness for the death of Alwar (end of 935 AH.) and to have given pleasure to his Father. But the time is all too near the date of Bābur's letter (f. 348) to Humāyūn, that of a dissatisfied parent, to allow the supposition that his desertion of his post would fail to displease.

That it was a desertion and not an act of obedience seems clear from the circumstance that the post had yet to be filled. Khalīfa is said to have been asked to take it and to have refused; <sup>1</sup> Humāyūn to have been sounded as to return and to have expressed unwillingness. Bābur then did what was an honourable sequel to his acceptance in 926 AH. of the charge of the fatherless child Sulaimān, by sending him, now about 16, to take charge where his father Khān Mīrzā had ruled, and by still keeping him under his own protection.

Sulaimān's start from Āgra will not have been delayed, and (accepting Aḥmad-i-yādgār's record,) Bābur himself will have gone as far as Lāhor either with him or shortly after him, an expedition supporting Sulaimān, and menacing Sa'īd in his winter leaguer round Qila'-i-ẓafar. Meantime Humāyūn was ordered to his fief of Saṃbhal.

After Sulaimān's appointment Bābur wrote to Sa'īd a letter of which Ḥaidar gives the gist :—It expresses surprise at Sa'īd's doings in Badakhshān, says that Hind-āl has been recalled and Sulaimān sent, that if Sa'īd regard hereditary right, he will

<sup>1</sup> The statement that Khalīfa was asked to go so far from where he was of the first importance as an administrator, leads to consideration of why it was done. So little is known explicitly of Bābur's intentions about his territories after his death that it is possible only to put that little together and read between its lines. It may be that he was now planning an immediate retirement to Kābul and an apportionment during life of his dominions, such as Abū-sa'īd had made of his own. If so, it would be desirable to have Badakhshān held in strength such as Khalīfa's family could command, and especially desirable because as Barlās Turks, that family would be one with Bābur in desire to regain Transoxiana. Such a political motive would worthily explain the offer of the appointment.

leave "Sulaimān Shāh Mīrzā"<sup>1</sup> in possession, who is as a son to them both,<sup>2</sup> that this would be well, that otherwise he (Bābur) will make over responsibility to the heir (Sulaimān);<sup>3</sup> and, "The rest you know."<sup>4</sup>

*c. Bābur visits Lāhor.*

If Aḥmad-i-yādgār's account of a journey made by Bābur to Lāhor and the Panj-āb be accepted, the *lacuna* of 936 AH. is appropriately filled. He places the expedition in the 3rd year of Bābur's rule in Hindūstān, which, counting from the first reading of the *khutba* for Bābur in Dihlī (f. 286), began on Rajab 15th 935 AH. (March 26th 1529 AD.). But as Bābur's diary-record for 935 AH. is complete down to end of the year, (minor *lacunæ* excepted), the time of his leaving Āgra for Lāhor is relegated to 936 AH. He must have left early in the year, (1) to allow time, before the occurrence of the known events preceding his own death, for the long expedition Aḥmad-i-yādgār calls one of a year, and (2) because an early start after Humāyūn's arrival and Sulaimān's departure would suit the position of affairs and the dates mentioned or implied by Ḥaidar's and by Aḥmad-i-yādgār's narratives.

Two reasons of policy are discernible, in the known events of the time, to recommend a journey in force towards the North-west; first, the sedition of 'Abdu'l-'azīz in Lāhor (f. 381), and secondly, the invasion of Badakhshān by Sa'īd Khān with its resulting need of supporting Sulaimān by a menace of armed intervention.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The "Shāh" of this style is derived from Sulaimān's Badakhshī descent through Shāh Begīm; the "Mīrzā" from his Mīrān-shāhī descent through his father Wais Khān Mīrzā. The title Khān Mīrzā or Mīrzā Khān, presumably according to the outlook of the speaker, was similarly derived from forbears, as would be also Shāh Begīm's; (her personal name is not mentioned in the sources).

<sup>2</sup> Sa'īd, on the father's, and Bābur, on the mother's side, were of the same generation in descent from Yūnas Khān; Sulaimān was of a younger one, hence his pseudo-filial relation to the men of the elder one.

<sup>3</sup> Sa'īd was Shāh Begīm's grandson through her son Aḥmad, Sulaimān her great-grandson through her daughter Sulṭān-Nigār, but Sulaimān could claim also as the heir of his father who was nominated to rule by Shāh Begīm; moreover, he could claim by right of conquest on the father's side, through Abū-sa'īd the conqueror, his son Maḥmūd long the ruler, and so through Maḥmūd's son Wais Khān Mīrzā.

<sup>4</sup> The menace conveyed by these words would be made the more forceful by Bābur's move to Lāhor, narrated by Aḥmad-i-yādgār. Some ill-result to Sa'īd of independent rule by Sulaimān seems foreshadowed; was it that if Bābur's restraining hand were withdrawn, the Badakhshīs would try to regain their lost districts and would have help in so-doing from Bābur?

<sup>5</sup> It is open to conjecture that if affairs in Hindūstān had allowed it, Bābur would now have returned to Kābul. Aḥmad-i-yādgār makes the expedition to be one for

In Sihrind the Rāja of Kahlūr, a place which may be one of the Simla hill-states, waited on Bābur, made offering of 7 falcons and 3 *mans*<sup>1</sup> of gold, and was confirmed in his fief.<sup>2</sup>

In Lāhor Kāmrañ is said to have received his Father, in a garden of his own creation, and to have introduced the local chiefs as though he were the Governor of Lāhor some writers describe him as then being. The best sources, however, leave him still posted in Qandahār. He had been appointed to Multān (f. 359) when 'Askarī was summoned to Āgra (f. 339), but whether he actually went there is not assured; some months later (Zū'l-hijja 10th 935 AH.) he is described by Abū'l-faẓl as coming to Kābul from Qandahār. He took both Multān<sup>3</sup> and Lāhor by force from his (half-)brother Humāyūn in 935 AH. (1531 AD.) the year after their Father's death. That he should wait upon his Father in Lāhor would be natural, Hind-āl did so, coming from Kābul. Hind-āl will have come to Lāhor after making over charge of Qila'-i-zafar to Sulaimān, and he went back at the end of the cold season, going perhaps just before his Father started from Lāhor on his return journey, the gifts he received before leaving being 2 elephants, 4 horses, belts and jewelled daggers.<sup>4</sup>

Bābur is said to have left Lāhor on Rajab 4th (936 AH.)—March 4th, 1530 AD.). From Aḥmad-i-yādgār's outline of Bābur's doings in Lāhor, he, or his original, must be taken as ill-informed

pleasure only, and describes Bābur as hunting and sight-seeing for a year in Lāhor, the Panj-āb and near Dihli. This appears a mere flourish of words, in view of the purposes the expedition served, and of the difficulties which had arisen in Lāhor itself and with Sa'id Khān. Part of the work effected may have been the despatch of an expedition to Kashmir.

<sup>1</sup> This appears a large amount.

<sup>2</sup> The precision with which the Rāja's gifts are stated, points to a closely-contemporary and written source. A second such indication occurs later where gifts made to Hind-āl are mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> An account of the events in Multān after its occupation by Shāh Hasan *Arghūn* is found in the latter part of the *Tabaqāt-i-akbarī* and in Erskine's H. of I. i, 393 *et seq.*—It may be noted here that several instances of confusion amongst Bābur's sons occur in the extracts made by Sir H. Elliot and Professor Dowson in their *History of India* from the less authoritative sources [*e.g.* v, 35 Kāmrañ for Humāyūn, 'Askarī said to be in Kābul (pp. 36 and 37); Hind-āl for Humāyūn *etc.*] and that these errors have slipped into several of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces.

<sup>4</sup> As was said of the offering made by the Rāja of Kahlūr, the precision of statement as to what was given to Hind-āl, bespeaks a closely-contemporary written source. So too does the mention (text, *infra*) of the day on which Bābur began his return journey from Lāhor.

or indifferent about them. His interest becomes greater when he writes of Samāna.

*d. Punishment of the Mundāhirs.*

When Bābur, on his return journey, reached Sihring, he received a complaint from the Qāzī of Samāna against one Mohan *Mundāhir* (or *Mundhār*)<sup>1</sup> *Rājput* who had attacked his estates, burning and plundering, and killed his son. Here-upon 'Alī-qulī of Hamadān<sup>2</sup> was sent with 3000 horse to avenge the Qāzī's wrongs, and reached Mohan's village, in the Kaithal *pargana*, early in the morning when the cold was such that the archers "could not pull their bows."<sup>3</sup> A marriage had been celebrated over-night; the villagers, issuing from warm houses, shot such flights of arrows that the royal troops could make no stand; many were killed and nothing was effected; they retired into the jungle, lit fires, warmed themselves (?), renewed the attack and were again repulsed. On hearing of their failure, Bābur sent off, perhaps again from Sihring, Tarsam Bahādur and Naurang Beg with 6000 horse and many elephants. This force reached the village at night and when marriage festivities were in progress. Towards morning it was formed into three divisions,<sup>4</sup> one of which was ordered to go to the west of the village and show itself. This having been done, the villagers advanced towards it, in the pride of their recent success. The royal troops, as ordered beforehand, turned their backs and fled, the *Mundāhirs* pursuing them some two miles. Meantime Tarsam Bahādur had attacked and fired the village, killing many of its inhabitants. The pursuers on the west saw the flames of their burning homes, ran back and were intercepted on their way. About 1000 men, women and children were made prisoner; there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. of I. xvi, 55; Ibbetson's *Report on Karnāl*.

<sup>2</sup> It is noticeable that no one of the three royal officers named as sent against Mohan *Mundāhir*, is recognizable as mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*. They may all have had local commands, and not have served further east. Perhaps this, their first appearance, points to the origin of the information as independent of Bābur, but he might have been found to name them, if his diary were complete for 936 A.H.

<sup>3</sup> The E. and D. translation writes twice as though the inability to "pull" the bows were due to feebleness in the men, but an appropriate reading would refer the difficulty to the hardening of sinews in the composite Turkish bows, which prevented the archers from bending the bows for stringing.

<sup>4</sup> One infers that fires were burned all night in the bivouac.

was also great slaughter, and a pillar of heads was raised. Mohan was captured and later on was buried to the waist and shot to death with arrows.<sup>1</sup> News of the affair was sent to the Pādshāh.<sup>2</sup>

As after being in Sihrind, Bābur is said to have spent two months hunting near Dihlī, it may be that he followed up the punitive expedition sent into the Kaithal *pargana* of the Karnāl District, by hunting in Nardak, a favourite ground of the Timūrids, which lies in that district.

Thus the gap of 936 AH. with also perhaps a month of 937 AH. is filled by the "year's" travel west of Dihlī. The record is a mere outline and in it are periods of months without mention of where Bābur was or what affairs of government were brought before him. At some time, on his return journey presumably, he will have despatched to Kashmīr the expedition referred to in the opening section of this appendix. Something further may yet be gleaned from local chronicles, from unwritten tradition, or from the witness of place-names commemorating his visit.

*e. Bābur's self-surrender to save Humāyūn.*

The few months, perhaps 4 to 5, between Bābur's return to Āgra from his expedition towards the North-west, and the time of his death are filled by Gul-badan and Abū'l-faẓl with matters concerning family interests only.

The first such matter these authors mention is an illness of Humāyūn during which Bābur devoted his own life to save his son's.<sup>3</sup> Of this the particulars are, briefly :—That Humāyūn, while still in Saṃbhal, had had a violent attack of fever; that he was brought by water to Āgra, his mother meeting him in

<sup>1</sup> At this point the A.S.B. copy (No. 137) of the *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghana* has a remark which may have been a marginal note originally, and which cannot be supposed made by Aḥmad-i-yādgār himself because this would allot him too long a spell of life. It may show however that the interpolations about the two Timūrids were not inserted in his book by him. Its purport is that the Mundāhīr village destroyed by Bābur's troops in 936 AH.—1530 AD. was still in ruins at the time it was written 160 (lunar) years later (*i. e.* in 1096 AH.—1684–85 AD.). The better Codex (No. 3887) of the Imperial Library of Calcutta has the same passage.—Both that remark and its context show acquaintance with Samāna and Kaithal.—The writings now grouped under the title *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afāghana* present difficulties both as to date and contents (cf. Rieu's *Persian Catalogue s. n.*).

<sup>2</sup> Presumably in Tibrind.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. G. B.'s H. N. trs. and the *Akbar-nāma* Bib. Ind. ed. and trs., Index *s. n.*; Hughes' *Dictionary of Islām s. n.* Intercession.

Muttra ; and that when the disease baffled medical skill, Bābur resolved to practise the rite believed then and now in the East to be valid, of intercession and devotion of a suppliant's most valued possession in exchange for a sick man's life. Rejecting counsel to offer the Koh-i-nūr for pious uses, he resolved to supplicate for the acceptance of his life. He made intercession through a saint his daughter names, and moved thrice round Humāyūn's bed, praying, in effect, "O God! if a life may be exchanged for a life, I, who am Bābur, give my life and my being for Humāyūn." During the rite fever surged over him, and, convinced that his prayer and offering had prevailed, he cried out, "I have borne it away! I have borne it away!"<sup>1</sup> Gul-badan says that he himself fell ill on that very day, while Humāyūn poured water on his head, came out and gave audience; and that they carried her Father within on account of his illness, where he kept his bed for 2 or 3 months.

There can be no doubt as to Bābur's faith in the rite he had practised, or as to his belief that his offering of life was accepted; moreover actual facts would sustain his faith and belief. On-lookers also must have believed his prayer and offering to have prevailed, since Humāyūn went back to Sambhal,<sup>2</sup> while Bābur fell ill at once and died in a few weeks.<sup>3</sup>

*f. A plan to set Bābur's sons aside from the succession.*

Reading the *Akbar-nāma* alone, there would seem to be no question about whether Bābur ever intended to give Hindūstān, at any rate, to Humāyūn, but, by piecing together various contributory matters, an opposite opinion is reached, *viz.* that not Khalīfa only whom Abū'l-faḡl names perhaps on Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's warrant, but Bābur also, with some considerable number of chiefs, wished another ruler for Hindūstān. The starting-point of this opinion is a story in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and,

<sup>1</sup> A closer translation would be, "I have taken up the burden." The verb is *bar-dāshtan* (cf. f. 349, p. 626 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> See Erskine's *History of India* ii, 9.

<sup>3</sup> At this point attention is asked to the value of the Aḥmad-i-yādgār interpolation which allows Bābur a year of active life before Humāyūn's illness and his own which followed. With no chronicle known of 936 A.H. Bābur had been supposed ill all through the year, a supposition which destroys the worth of his self-sacrifice. Moreover several inferences have been drawn from the supposed year of illness which are disproved by the activities recorded in that interpolation.

with less detail, in the *Akbar-nāma*, of which the gist is that Khalīfa planned to supersede Humāyūn and his three brothers in their Father's succession.<sup>1</sup>

The story, in brief, is as follows:—At the time of Bābur's death Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's father Khwāja Muḥammad Muqīm *Harāwī* was in the service of the Office of Works.<sup>2</sup> Amīr Nizāmu'd-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa, the Chief of the Administration, had dread and suspicion about Humāyūn and did not favour his succession as Pādshāh. Nor did he favour that of Bābur's other sons. He promised "Bābur Pādshāh's son-in-law (*dāmād*)" Mahdī Khwāja who was a generous young man, very friendly to himself, that he would make him Pādshāh. This promise becoming known, others made their *salām* to the Khwāja who put on airs and accepted the position. One day when Khalīfa, accompanied by Muqīm, went to see Mahdī Khwāja in his tent, no-one else being present, Bābur, in the pangs of his disease, sent for him<sup>3</sup> when he had been seated a few minutes only. When Khalīfa had gone out, Mahdī Khwāja remained standing in such a way that Muqīm could not follow but, the Khwāja unaware, waited respectfully behind him. The Khwāja, who was noted for the wildness of youth, said, stroking his beard, "Please God! first, I will flay thee!" turned round and saw Muqīm, took him by the ear, repeated a proverb of menace, "The red tongue gives the green head to the wind," and let him go. Muqīm hurried to Khalīfa, repeated the Khwāja's threat against him, and remonstrated about the plan to set all Bābur's sons aside in favour of a stranger-house.<sup>4</sup> Here-upon Khalīfa sent for Humāyūn,<sup>5</sup> and despatched an officer with orders to the Khwāja to retire to his house, who found him about to dine and hurried him off without ceremony. Khalīfa also issued a proclamation forbidding intercourse with him, excluded him from Court, and when Bābur died, supported Humāyūn.

<sup>1</sup> E. and D.'s *History of India* v, 187; G. B.'s *Humāyūn-nāma* trs. p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *dar khidmat-i-dawānī-i-buyūtāt*; perhaps he was a Barrack-officer. His appointment explains his attendance on Khalīfa.

<sup>3</sup> Khalīfa prescribed for the sick Bābur.

<sup>4</sup> *khānwāda-i-bīgānah*, perhaps, foreign dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> From Sambhal; Gul-badan, by an anachronism made some 60 years later, writes Kālanjar, to which place Humāyūn moved 5 months after his accession.



As Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad was not born till 20 years after Bābur died, the story will have been old before he could appreciate it, and it was some 60 years old when it found way into the *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* and, with less detail, into the *Akbar-nāma*.

Taken as it stands, it is incredible, because it represents Khalifa, and him alone, planning to subject the four sons of Bābur to the suzerainty of Mahdī Khwāja who was not a Timūrid, who, so far as well-known sources show, was not of a ruling dynasty or personally illustrious,<sup>1</sup> and who had been associated, so lately as the autumn of 1529 AD., with his nephew Raḥīm-dād in seditious action which had so angered Bābur that, whatever the punishment actually ordered, rumour had it both men were to die.<sup>2</sup> In two particulars the only Mahdī Khwāja then of Bābur's following, does not suit the story; he was not a young man in 1530 AD.,<sup>3</sup> and was not a *dāmād* of Bābur, if that word be taken in its usual sense of son-in-law, but he was a *yasna*, husband of a Pādshāh's sister, in his case, of Khān-zāda Begīm.<sup>4</sup> Some writers style him Sayyid Mahdī Khwāja, a double title which may indicate descent on both sides from religious houses; one is suggested to be that of Tirmiz by the circumstance that in his and Khān-zāda Begīm's mausoleum was buried a Tirmiz sayyid

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my husband's perusal of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's *Aṣār-i-sanādīd* (Dihli ed. 1854 p. 37, and Lakhnau ed. 1895 pp. 40, 41) for information that, perhaps in 935 AH., Mahdī Khwāja set up a tall slab of white marble near Amīr Khusrau's tomb in Dihli, which bears an inscription in praise of the poet, composed by that Shihābu'd-dīn the Enigmatist who reached Agra with Khwānd-amīr in Muḥarram 935 AH. (f. 339b). The inscription gives two chronograms of Khusrau's death (725 AH.), mentions that Mahdī Khwāja was the creator of the memorial, and gives its date in the words, "The beautiful effort of Mahdī Khwāja."—The Dihli ed. of the *Aṣār-i-sanādīd* depicts the slab with its inscription; the Lakhnau ed. depicts the tomb, may show the slab *in situ*, and contains interesting matter by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. The slab is mentioned without particulars in Murray's *Hand-book to Bengal*, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> Lee's *Ībn Batūta* p. 133 and Hirāman's *Tārīkh-i-gūāltārī*. Cf. G. B.'s *Humāyūn-nāma* trs. (1902 AD.), Appendix B.—*Mahdī Khwāja*.

<sup>3</sup> In an anonymous *Life of Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī*, Mahdī Khwāja [who may be a son of the Mūsa Khwāja mentioned by Bābur on f. 216] is described as being, in what will be 916-7 AH., Bābur's *Diwān-begī* and assent towards Bukhārā with 10,000 men. This was 29 years before the story calls him a young man. Even if the word *jawān* (young man) be read, as T. *yigīl* is frequently to be read, in the sense of "efficient fighting man", Mahdī was over-age. Other details of the story, besides the word *jawān*, bespeak a younger man.

<sup>4</sup> G. B.'s H. N. trs. p. 126; *Ḥabībū's-siyar*, B. M. Add. 16,679 f. 370, l. 16, lith. ed. Sec. III. iii, 372 (where a clerical error makes Bābur give Māhdi *two* of his full-sisters in marriage).—Another *yasna* of Bābur was Khalifā's brother Junaid *Barlās*, the husband of Shahr-bānū, a half-sister of Bābur.

of later date, Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī. But though he were of Tirmiz, it is doubtful if that religious house would be described by the word *khānwāda* which so frequently denotes a ruling dynasty.

His name may have found its way into Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's story as a gloss mistakenly amplifying the word *dāmād*, taken in its less usual sense of brother-in-law. To Bābur's contemporaries the expression "Bābur Pādshāh's *dāmād*" (son-in-law) would be explicit, because for some 11 years before he lay on his death-bed, he had one son-in-law only, *viz.* Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā *Bāi-qarā*,<sup>1</sup> the husband of Ma'şūma Sultān Begīm. If that Mīrzā's name were where Mahdī Khwāja's is entered, the story of an exclusion of Bābur's sons from rule might have a core of truth.

It is incredible however that Khālifa, with or without Bābur's concurrence, made the plan attributed to him of placing any man not a Tīmūrid in the position of Pādshāh over all Bābur's territory. I suggest that the plan concerned Hindūstān only and was one considered in connection with Bābur's intended return to Kābul, when he must have left that difficult country, hardly yet a possession, in charge of some man giving promise of power to hold it. Such a man Humāyūn was not. My suggestion rests on the following considerations :—

(1) Bābur's outlook was not that of those in Āgra in 1587 AD. who gave Abū'l-faẓl his Bāburiana material, because at that date Dihlī had become the pivot of Tīmūrid power, so that not to hold Hindūstān would imply not to be Pādshāh. Bābur's outlook on his smaller Hindūstān was different ; his position in it was precarious, Kābul, not Dihlī, was his chosen centre, and from Kābul his eyes looked northwards as well as to the East. If he had lost the Hindūstān which was approximately the modern United Provinces, he might still have held what lay west of it to the Indus, as well as Qandahār.

(2) For several years before his death he had wished to return to Kābul. Ample evidence of this wish is given by his diary, his letters, and some poems in his second *Dīwān* (that found in the Rāmpūr MS.). As he told his sons more than once, he kept Kābul

<sup>1</sup> Bābur, shortly before his death, married Gul-rang to Aisān-timūr and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-būghā *Chaghatāi*. Cf. *post*, Section *h*, *Bābur's wives and children* ; and G. B.'s H. N. trs. Biographical Appendix *s. m.*. Dil-dār Begīm and Salīma Sultān Begīm *Mīrān-shāhi*.

for himself.<sup>1</sup> If, instead of dying in Āgra, he had returned to Kābul, had pushed his way on from Badakhshān, whether as far as Samarkand or less, had given Humāyūn a seat in those parts, —action foreshadowed by the records—a reasonable interpretation of the story that Humāyūn and his brothers were not to govern Hindūstān, is that he had considered with Khalīfa the apportionment of his territories according to the example of his ancestors Chīngīz Khān, Tīmūr and Abū-sa'īd; that by his plan of apportionment Humāyūn was not to have Hindūstān but something Tramontane; Kāmrān had already Qandahār; Sulaimān, if Humāyūn had moved beyond the out-post of Badakhshān, would have replaced him there; and Hindūstān would have gone to "Bābur Pādshāh's *dārmād*".

(3) Muḥammad-i-zamān had much to recommend him for Hindūstān:—Tīmūrid-born, grandson and heir of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, husband of Ma'ṣūma who was a Tīmūrid by double descent,<sup>2</sup> protected by Bābur after the Bāi-qarā *débaclé* in Herāt, a landless man leading such other exiles as Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā,<sup>3</sup> 'Ādil Sulṭān, and Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sulṭān, half-Tīmūrīds all, who with their Khurāsānī following, had been Bābur's guests in Kābul, had pressed on its poor resources, and thus had helped in 932 AH. (1525 AD.) to drive him across the Indus. This Bāi-qarā group needed a location; Muḥammad-i-zamān's future had to be cared for and with his, Ma'ṣūma's.

(4) It is significant of intention to give Muḥammad-i-zamān ruling status that in April 1529 AD. (Sha'bān 935 AH.) Bābur bestowed on him royal insignia, including the umbrella-symbol of sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> This was done after the Mīrzā had raised

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. B.'s H. N. trs. p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> She is the only adult daughter of a Tīmūrid mother named as being such by Bābur or Gul-badan, but various considerations incline to the opinion that Dil-dār Begīm also was a Tīmūrid, hence her three daughters, all named from the Rose, were so too. Cf. references of penultimate note.

<sup>3</sup> It attaches interest to the Mīrzā that he can be taken reasonably as once the owner of the Elphinstone Codex (cf. JRAS. 1907, pp. 136 and 137).

<sup>4</sup> Death did not threaten when this gift was made; life in Kābul was planned for.—Here attention is asked again to the value of Ahmad-i-yādgār's Bāburiana for removing the impression set on many writers by the blank year 936 AH. that it was one of illness, instead of being one of travel, hunting and sight-seeing. The details of the activities of that year have the further value that they enhance the worth of Bābur's sacrifice of life.—Ḥaidar Mīrzā also fixes the date of the beginning of illness as 937 AH.

objections, unspecified now in the *Bābur-nāma* against Bihār ; they were overcome, the insignia were given and, though for military reasons he was withheld from taking up that appointment, the recognition of his royal rank had been made. His next appointment was to Jūnpūr, the capital of the fallen Sharqī dynasty. No other chief is mentioned by Bābur as receiving the insignia of royalty.

(4) It appears to have been within a Pādshāh's competence to select his successor ; and it may be inferred that choice was made between Humāyūn and another from the wording of more than one writer that Khalīfa "supported" Humāyūn, and from the word "selected" used in Aḥmad-i-yādgar's anecdote.<sup>1</sup> Much more would there be freedom of choice in a division of territory such as there is a good deal to suggest was the basis of Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's story. Whatever the extent of power proposed for the *dāmād*, whether, as it is difficult to believe, the Pādshāh's whole supremacy, or whether the limited sovereignty of Hindūstān, it must have been known to Bābur as well as to Khalīfa. Whatever their earlier plan however, it was changed by the sequel of Humāyūn's illness which led to his becoming Pādshāh. The *dāmād* was dropped, on grounds it is safe to believe more impressive than his threat to slay Khalīfa or than the remonstrance of that high official's subordinate Muqīm of Herāt.

Humāyūn's arrival and continued stay in Hindūstān modified earlier dispositions which included his remaining in Badakhshān. His actions may explain why Bābur, when in 936 A.H. he went as far as Lāhor, did not go on to Kābul. Nothing in the sources excludes the surmise that Māhīm knew of the bestowal of royal insignia on the Bāi-qarā Mīrzā, that she summoned her son to Āgra and there kept him, that she would do this the more resolutely if the *dāmād* of the plan she must have heard of, were that Bāi-qarā, and that but for Humāyūn's presence in Āgra and its attendant difficulties, Bābur would have gone to Kābul, leaving his *dāmād* in charge of Hindūstān.

Bābur, however, turned back from Lāhor for Āgra, and there

<sup>1</sup> The author, or embroiderer, of that anonymous story did not know the *Bābur-nāma* well, or he would not have described Bābur as a wine-drinker after 933 A.H. The anecdote is parallel with Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's, the one explaining why the Mīrzā was selected, the other why the *dāmād* was dropped.

he made the self-surrender which, resulting in Humāyūn's "selection" as Pādshāh, became a turning point in history.

Humāyūn's recovery and Bābur's immediate illness will have made the son's life seem Divinely preserved, the father's as a debt to be paid. Bābur's impressive personal experience will have dignified Humāyūn as one whom God willed should live. Such distinction would dictate the bestowal on him of all that fatherly generosity had yet to give. The imminence of death defeating all plans made for life, Humāyūn was nominated to supreme power as Pādshāh.

*g. Bābur's death.*

Amongst other family matters mentioned by Gul-badan as occurring shortly before her Father's death, was his arrangement of marriages for Gul-rang with Aisān-tīmūr and for Gul-chihra with Tūkhta-būghā *Chaghatāi*. She also writes of his anxiety to see Hind-āl who had been sent for from Kābul but did not arrive till the day after the death.

When no remedies availed, Humāyūn was summoned from Saṃbhal. He reached Āgra four days before the death; on the morrow Bābur gathered his chiefs together for the last of many times, addressed them, nominated Humāyūn his successor and bespoke their allegiance for him. Abū'l-faḡl thus summarizes his words, "Lofty counsels and weighty mandates were imparted. Advice was given (to Humāyūn) to be munificent and just, to acquire God's favour, to cherish and protect subjects, to accept apologies from such as had failed in duty, and to pardon transgressors. And, he (Bābur) exclaimed, the cream of my testamentary dispositions is this, 'Do naught against your brothers, even though they may deserve it.' In truth," continues the historian, "it was through obedience to this mandate that his Majesty Jannat-ashiyānī suffered so many injuries from his brothers without avenging himself." Gul-badan's account of her Father's last address is simple:—"He spoke in this wise, 'For years it has been in my heart to make over the throne to Humāyūn and to retire to the Gold-scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained in health of body everything but the fulfilment of this wish. Now that illness has laid me low,

I charge you all to acknowledge Humāyūn in my stead. Fail not in loyalty towards him. Be of one heart and mind towards him. I hope to God that he, for his part, will bear himself well towards men. Moreover, Humāyūn, I commit you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people to God's keeping, and entrust them all to you." "

It was on Monday Jumāda I. 5th 937AH. (Dec. 26th 1530AD.) that Bābur made answer to his summons with the *Adsum* of the Musalmān, "Lord! I am here for Thee."

"Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all," writes his daughter ;

"Alas! that time and the changeful heaven should exist without thee ;  
Alas ! and Alas ! that time should remain and thou shouldst be gone ;"

mourns Khwāja Kalān in the funeral ode from which Badāyūnī quoted these lines.<sup>1</sup>

The body was laid in the Garden-of-rest (*Ārām-bāgh*) which is opposite to where the Tāj-i-maḥāll now stands. Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī 'asas<sup>2</sup> was made the guardian of the tomb, and many well-voiced readers and reciters were appointed to conduct the five daily Prayers and to offer supplication for the soul of the dead. The revenues of Sikrī and 5 *laks* from Biāna were set aside for the endowment of the tomb, and Māhīm Begīm, during the two and a half years of her remaining life, sent twice daily from her own estate, an allowance of food towards the support of its attendants.

In accordance with the directions of his will, Bābur's body was to be conveyed to Kābul and there to be laid in the garden of his choice, in a grave open to the sky, with no building over it, no need of a door-keeper.

Precisely when it was removed from Āgra we have not found stated. It is known from Gul-badan that Kāmran visited his Father's tomb in Āgra in 1539AD. (946AH.) after the battle of Chausa ; and it is known from Jauhar that the body had been brought to Kābul before 1544AD. (952AH.), at which date Humāyūn, in Kābul, spoke with displeasure of Kāmran's incivility to "Bega Begīm", the "Bībī" who had conveyed their

<sup>1</sup> *Bib. Ind.* i, 341 ; Ranking's trs. p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> The night-guard ; perhaps Māhīm Begīm's brother (G. B.'s H. N. trs. pp. 27-8).

Father's body to that place.<sup>1</sup> That the widow who performed this duty was the Afghān Lady, Bībī Mubārīka<sup>2</sup> is made probable by Gul-badan's details of the movements of the royal ladies. Bābur's family left Āgra under Hind-āl's escort, after the defeat at Chausa (June 7th, 1539 AD.); whoever took charge of the body on its journey to Kābul must have returned at some later date to fetch it. It would be in harmony with Sher Shāh's generous character if he safe-guarded her in her task.

The terraced garden Bābur chose for his burial-place lies on the slope of the hill Shāh-i-Kābul, the Sher-darwāza of European writers.<sup>3</sup> It has been described as perhaps the most beautiful of the Kābul gardens, and as looking towards an unsurpassable view over the Chār-dih plain towards the snows of Paghmān and the barren, rocky hills which have been the hunting-grounds of rulers in Kābul. Several of Bābur's descendants coming to Kābul from Āgra have visited and embellished his burial-garden. Shāh-i-jahān built the beautiful mosque which stands near the grave; Jahāngīr seems to have been, if not the author, at least the prompter of the well-cut inscription adorning the upright slab of white marble of Māīdān, which now stands at the grave-head. The tomb-stone itself is a low grave-covering, not less simple than those of relations and kin whose remains have been placed near Bābur's. In the thirties of the last century [the later Sir] Alexander Burnes visited and admirably described the garden and the tomb. With him was Munshī Mohan Lāl who added to his own account of the beauties of the spot, copies of the inscriptions on the monumental slab and on the portal of the Mosque.<sup>4</sup> As is shown by the descriptions these two visitors give, and by Daniel's drawings of the garden and the tomb, there were in their time two upright slabs, one behind the other, near the head of the grave. Mr. H. H. Hayden who visited the garden in the first decade of the present century, shows in his photograph of the grave, one upright stone only, the place of

<sup>1</sup> G. B.'s H. N. trs. f. 34b, p. 138; Jauhar's *Memoirs of Humāyūn*, Stewart's trs. p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. B.'s H. N. trs. p. 216, Bio. App. *s.n.* Bega Begam.

<sup>3</sup> f. 128, p. 200 n. 3. Cf. Appendix U.—*Bābur's Gardens in and near Kābul*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. H. Hayden's *Notes on some monuments in Afghānistān*, [*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* ii, 344]; and *Journal asiatique* 1888, M. J. Darmesteter's art. *Inscriptions de Caboul*.

one of the former two having been taken by a white-washed lamp holder (*chirāghdān*).

The purport of the verses inscribed on the standing-slab is as follows :—

A ruler from whose brow shone the Light of God was that <sup>1</sup> Back-bone of the Faith (*ḡahīru'd-dīn*) Muḥammad Bābur Pādshāh. Together with majesty, dominion, fortune, rectitude, the open-hand and the firm Faith, he had share in prosperity, abundance and the triumph of victorious arms. He won the material world and became a moving light ; for his every conquest he looked, as for Light, towards the world of souls. When Paradise became his dwelling and Ruzwān <sup>2</sup> asked me the date, I gave him for answer, "Paradise is forever Bābur Pādshāh's abode."

#### *h. Bābur's wives and children.*<sup>3</sup>

Bābur himself mentions several of his wives by name, but Gul-badan is the authority for complete lists of them and their children.

1. 'Āyisha Sultān Begīm, daughter of Sl. Aḥmad Mirzā *Mirān-shāhī* was betrothed, when Bābur was *cir.* 5 years old, in 894AH. (1488–89AD.), bore Fakhru'n-nisa' in 906AH. [who died in about one month], left Bābur before 909AH. (1503AD.).

2. Zainab Sl. Begīm, daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Mirzā *Mirān-shāhī*, was married in 910AH. (1504–5AD.), died childless two or three years later.

3. Māhīm Begīm, whose parentage is not found stated, was married in 912AH. (1506AD.), bore Bār-būd, Mihr-jān, Āīsān-daulat, Farūq [who all died in infancy], and Humāyūn.

4. Ma'ṣūma Sl. Begīm, daughter of Sl. Aḥmad Mirzā *Mirān-shāhī*, was married in 913AH. (1507AD.), bore Ma'ṣūma and died at her birth, presumably early in the *lacuna* of 914–925AH. (1508–19AD.).

<sup>1</sup> *ān*, a demonstrative suggesting that it refers to an original inscription on the second, but now absent, upright slab, which presumably would bear Bābur's name.

<sup>2</sup> Ruzwān is the door-keeper of Paradise.

<sup>3</sup> Particulars of the women mentioned by Bābur, Ḥāidar, Gul-badan and other writers of their time, can be seen in my Biographical Appendix to the Begīm's *Humāyūn-nāma*. As the Appendix was published in 1902, variants from it occurring in this work are corrections superseding earlier and less-informed statements.



5. Gul-rukh Begīm, whose parentage is not found stated, was perhaps a Begchik Mughūl, was married between 914AH. and 925AH. (1508-19AD.), probably early in the period, bore Shāh-rukh, Aḥmad [who both died young], Gul'izār [who also may have died young], Kamrān and 'Askarī.

6. Dil-dār Begīm, whose parentage is not found stated, was married in the same period as Gul-rukh, bore Gul-rang, Gul-chihra, Hīnd-āl, Gul-badan and Alwar, [who died in childhood].

7. The Afghān Lady (Afghānī Āghācha), Bībī Mubārīka *Yūsuf-zāi*, was married in 925AH. (1519AD.), and died childless.

The two Circassian slaves Gul-nār Āghācha and Nār-gul Āghācha of whom Ṭahmāsp made gift to Bābur in 933AH. (f.305), became recognized ladies of the royal household. They are mentioned several times by Gul-badan as taking part in festivities and in family conferences under Humāyūn. Gul-nār is said by Abū'l-faẓl to have been one of Gul-badan's pilgrim band in 983AH. (1575AD.).

The above list contains the names of three wives whose parentage is not given or is vaguely given by the well-known sources,—namely, Māhīm, Gul-rukh and Dil-dār. What would sufficiently explain the absence of mention by Bābur of the parentage of Gul-rukh and Dil-dār is that his record of the years within which the two Begīms were married is not now with the *Bābur-nāma*. Presumably it has been lost, whether in diary or narrative form, in the *lacuna* of 914-25 AH. (1508-19 AD.). Gul-rukh appears to have belonged to the family of Begchik Mughūls described by Ḥaidar Mīrzā<sup>1</sup>; her brothers are styled Mīrzā; she was of good but not royal birth. Dil-dār's case is less simple. Nothing in her daughter Gul-badan's book suggests that she and her children were other than of the highest rank; numerous details and shades of expression show their ease of equality with royal personages. It is consistent with Gul-badan's method of enumerating her father's wives that she should not state her own mother's descent; she states it of none of her "mothers". There is this interest in trying to trace Dil-dār's parentage, that she may have been the third daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Pasha Begīm, and a daughter of hers may have been the mother of

<sup>1</sup> *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. Ney Elias and Ross p. 308.

Salīma Sulṭān Begīm who was given in marriage by Humāyūn to Bairām Khān, later was married by Akbar, and was a woman of charm and literary accomplishments. Later historians, Abū'l-faḍl amongst their number, say that Salīma's mother was a daughter of Bābur's wife Sālḥa Sulṭān Begīm, and vary that daughter's name as Gul-rang-rukh-barg or -'izār (the last form being an equivalent of *chihra*, face). As there cannot have been a wife with her daughter growing up in Bābur's household, who does not appear in some way in Gul-badan's chronicle, and as Salīma's descent from Bābur need not be questioned, the knot is most readily loosened by surmising that "Sālḥa" is the real name of Gul-badan's "Dildār". Instances of double names are frequent, e.g. Māhīm, Māh-chīchām, Qarā-gūz, Āq, (My Moon, My Moon sister, Black-eyed, Fair). "Heart-holding" (Dil-dār) sounds like a home-name of affection. It is the *Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī* which gives Sālḥa as the name of Bābur's wife, Pasha's third daughter. Its author may be wrong, writing so late as he did (1025 AH.—1616 AD.), or may have been unaware that Sālḥa was (if she were) known as Dil-dār. It would not war against seeming facts to take Pasha's third daughter to be Bābur's wife Dil-dār, and Dil-dār's daughter Gul-chihra to be Salīma's mother. Gul-chihra was born in about 1516 AD., married to Tūkhta-būghā in 1530 AD., widowed in *cir.* 1533 AD., might have remarried with Nūru'd-dīn *Chaqāniānī* (Sayyid Amīr), and in 945 AH. might have borne him Salīma; she was married in 1547 AD. (954 AH.) to 'Abbās Sulṭān *Aūzbeḡ*.<sup>1</sup> Two matters, neither having much weight, make against taking Dil-dār to be a *Mīrān-shāhī*; the first being that the anonymous annotator who added to the archetype of Kehr's Codex what is entered in Appendix L.—*On Māhīm's adoption of Hind-āl*, styles her Dil-dār *Āghācha*; he, however, may have known no more than others knew of her descent; the second, that Māhīm forcibly took Dil-dār's child Hind-āl to rear; she was the older wife and the mother of the heir, but could she have taken the upper hand over a *Mīrān-shāhī*? A circumstance complicating the question of Salīma's maternal descent is, that historians searching the *Bābur-nāma* or its Persian translation the *Wāqī'āt-i-bāburī* for information about the three daughters of Maḥmūd *Mīrān-shāhī*

<sup>1</sup> Bio. App. s.n. Gul-chihra.

and Pasha *Bahārlū Turkmān*, would find an incomplete record, one in which the husbands of the first and second daughters are mentioned and nothing is said about the third who was Bābur's wife and the grandmother of Salīma. Bābur himself appears to have left the record as it is, meaning to fill it in later; presumably he waited for the names of the elder two sisters to complete his details of the three. In the Ḥaidarabad Codex, which there is good ground for supposing a copy of his original manuscript, about three lines are left blank (f. 27) as if awaiting information; in most manuscripts, however, this indication of intention is destroyed by running the defective passage on to join the next sentence. Some chance remark of a less well-known writer, may clear up the obscurity and show that Sālḥa was Dil-dār.

Māhīm's case seems one having a different cause for silence about her parentage. When she was married in Herāt, shortly after the death of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, Bābur had neither wife nor child. What Abū'l-faẓl tells about her is vague; her father's name is not told; she is said to have belonged to a noble Khurāsān family, to have been related (*nisbat-i-khwesh*) to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā and to have traced her descent to Shaikh Aḥmad of Jām. If her birth had been high, even though not royal, it is strange that it is not stated by Bābur when he records the birth of her son Humāyūn, incidentally by Gul-badan, or more precisely by Abū'l-faẓl. Her brothers belonged to Khost, and to judge from a considerable number of small records, seem to have been quiet, unwarlike Khwājas. Her marriage took place in a year of which a full record survives; it is one in the composed narrative, not in the diary. In the following year, this also being one included in the composed narrative, Bābur writes of his meeting with Ma'sūma *Mīrān-shāhī* in Herāt, of their mutual attraction, and of their marriage. If the marriage with Humāyūn's mother had been an equal alliance, it would agree with Bābur's custom to mention its occurrence, and to give particulars about Māhīm's descent.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The story of the later uprisings against Māhīm's son Humāyūn by his brothers, by Muḥammad-i-zamān *Bāi-qarā* and others of the same royal blood, and this in spite of Humāyūn's being his father's nominated successor, stirs surmise as to whether the rebels were not tempted by more than his defects of character to disregard his claim to supremacy; perhaps pride of higher maternal descent, this particularly amongst the Bāi-qarā group, may have deepened a disregard created by antagonisms of temperament.

*i. Mr. William Erskine's estimate of Bābur.*

“Zahīru'd-dīn Muḥammad Bābur was undoubtedly one of the most illustrious men of his age, and one of the most eminent and accomplished princes that ever adorned an Asiatic throne. He is represented as having been above the middle size, of great vigour of body, fond of all field and warlike sports, an excellent swordsman, and a skilful archer. As a proof of his bodily strength, it is mentioned, that he used to leap from one pinnacle to another of the pinnacled ramparts used in the East, in his double-soled boots; and that he even frequently took a man under each arm and went leaping along the rampart from one of the pointed pinnacles to another. Having been early trained to the conduct of business, and tutored in the school of adversity, the powers of his mind received full development. He ascended the throne at the age of twelve, and before he had attained his twentieth year, had shared every variety of fortune; he had not only been the ruler of subject provinces but had been in thralldom to his own ambitious nobles, and obliged to conceal every sentiment of his heart; he had been alternately hailed and obeyed as a conqueror and deliverer by rich and extensive kingdoms, and forced to lurk in the deserts and mountains of Farghāna as a houseless wanderer. Down to the last dregs of life, we perceive in him strong feelings of affection for his early friends and early enjoyments. \* \* \* He had been taught betimes, by the voice of events that cannot lie, that he was a man dependent on the kindness and fidelity of other men; and, in his dangers and escapes with his followers, had learned that he was only one of an association. \* \* \* The native benevolence and gaiety of his disposition seems ever to overflow on all around him; \* \* \* of his companions in arms he speaks with the frank gaiety of a soldier. \* \* \* Ambitious he was and fond of conquest and glory in all its shapes; the enterprise in which he was for a season engaged, seems to have absorbed his whole soul, and all his faculties were exerted to bring it to a fortunate issue. His elastic mind was not broken by discomfiture, and few who have achieved such glorious conquests, have suffered more numerous or more decisive defeats. His personal courage was conspicuous during his whole life. Upon the whole, if we review with impartiality the history

of Asia, we find few princes entitled to rank higher than Bābur in genius and accomplishments. \* \* \* In activity of mind, in the gay equanimity and unbroken spirit with which he bore the extremes of good and bad fortune, in the possession of the manly and social virtues, in his love of letters and his success in the cultivation of them, we shall probably find no other Asiatic prince who can justly be placed beside him."

THE END.

## [APPENDICES TO THE HINDUSTAN SECTION.]

### M.—ON THE TERM *BAHRĪ QŪṬĀS*.

THAT the term *bahrī qūṭās* is interpreted by Meninski, Erskine, and de Courteille in senses so widely differing as *equus maritimus*, mountain-cow, and *bœuf vert de mer* is due, no doubt, to their writing when the *qūṭās*, the *yāk*, was less well known than it now is.

The word *qūṭās* represents both the *yāk* itself and its neck-tassel and tail. Hence Meninski explains it by *nodus fimbriatus ex cauda seu crinibus equi maritimi*. His "sea-horse" appears to render *bahrī qūṭās*, and is explicable by the circumstance that the same purposes are served by horse-tails and by *yāk*-tails and tassels, namely, with both, standards are fashioned, horse-equipage is ornamented or perhaps furnished with fly-flappers, and the ordinary hand-fly-flappers are made, *i.e.* the *chowries* of Anglo-India.

Erskine's "mountain-cow" (*Memoirs* p. 317) may well be due to his *munshī's* giving the *yāk* an alternative name, *viz.* *Kosh-gau* (Vigne) or *Khāsh-gau* (Ney Elias), which appears to mean mountain-cow (cattle, oxen).<sup>1</sup>

De Courteille's *Dictionary* p. 422, explains *qūṭās* (*qūṭās*) as *bœuf marin* (*bahrī qūṭās*) and his *Mémoires* ii, 191, renders Bābur's *bahrī qūṭās* by *bœuf vert de mer* (f. 276, p. 490 and n. 8).

The term *bahrī qūṭās* could be interpreted with more confidence if one knew where the seemingly Arabic-Turkī compound originated.<sup>2</sup> Bābur uses it in Hindūstān where the neck-tassel

<sup>1</sup> Vigne's *Travels in Kāshmir* ii, 277-8; *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs., p. 302 and n. and p. 466 and note.

<sup>2</sup> It is not likely to be one heard current in Hindūstān, any more than is Bābur's Ar. *bū-galamūn* as a name of a bird (Index *s.n.*); both seem to be "book-words" and may be traced or known as he uses them in some ancient dictionary or book of travels originating outside Hindūstān.

and the tail of the domestic yāk are articles of commerce, and where, as also probably in Kābul, he will have known of the same class of yāk as a saddle-animal and as a beast of burden into Kashmīr and other border-lands of sufficient altitude to allow its survival. A part of its wide Central Asian habitat abutting on Kashmīr is Little Tibet, through which flows the upper Indus and in which tame yāk are largely bred, Skardo being a place specially mentioned by travellers as having them plentifully. This suggests that the term *bahrī qūtās* is due to the great river (*bahr*) and that those of which Bābur wrote in Hindūstān were from Little Tibet and its great river. But *bahrī* may apply to another region where also the domestic yāk abounds, that of the great lakes, inland seas such as Pangong, whence the yāk comes and goes between *e.g.* Yārkanḍ and the Hindūstān border.

The second suggestion, *viz.* that "*bahrī qūtās*" refers to the habitat of the domestic yāk in lake and marsh lands of high altitude (the wild yāk also but, as Tibetan, it is less likely to be concerned here) has support in Dozy's account of the *bahrī* falcon, a bird mentioned also by Abū'l-faẓl amongst sporting birds (*Āyīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann's trs. p.295):—"*Bahrī, espèce de faucon le meilleur pour les oiseaux de marais. Ce renseignement explique peut-être l'origine du mot. Marguerite en donne la même étymologie que Tashmend et le Père Guagix. Selon lui ce faucon aurait été appelé ainsi parce qu'il vient de l'autre côté de la mer, mais peut-être dérivait-il de bahrī dans le sens de marais, flaque, étang.*"

Dr. E. Denison Ross' *Polyglot List of Birds* (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* ii, 289) gives to the *Qarā Qirghāwal* (Black pheasant) the synonym "Sea-pheasant", this being the literal translation of its Chinese name, and quotes from the Manchū-Chinese "Mirror" the remark that this is a black pheasant but called "sea-pheasant" to distinguish it from other black ones.

It may be observed that Bābur writes of the yāk once only and then of the *bahrī qūtās* so that there is no warrant from him for taking the term to apply to the wild yāk. His cousin and

contemporary Ḥaidar Mīrzā, however, mentions the wild yāk twice and simply as the wild *qūṭās*.

The following are random gleanings about “*baḥrī*” and the yāk :—

(1) An instance of the use of the Persian equivalent *daryā’i* of *baḥrī*, sea-borne or over-sea, is found in the *Akbar-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. ii, 216) where the African elephant is described as *fil-i-daryā’i*.

(2) In Egypt the word *baḥrī* has acquired the sense of northern, presumably referring to what lies or is borne across its northern sea, the Mediterranean.

(3) Vigne (*Travels in Kashmīr* ii, 277–8) warns against confounding the *qūch-qār* i.e. the gigantic *moufflon*, Pallas’ *Ovis ammon*, with the *Kosh-gau*, the cow of the Caucasus, i.e. the yāk. He says, “Caucasus (*hodie* Hindū-kush) was originally from Kosh, and Kosh is applied occasionally as a prefix, e.g. *Kosh-gau*, the yāk or ox of the mountain or Caucasus.” He wrote from Skardo in Little Tibet and on the upper Indus. He gives the name of the female yāk as *yāk-mo* and of the half-breeds with common cows as *bsch*, which class he says is common and of “all colours”.

(4) Mr. Ney Elias’ notes (*Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. pp. 302 and 466) on the *qūṭās* are of great interest. He gives the following synonymous names for the wild yāk, *Bos Pöëphagus*, *Khāsh-gau*, the Tibetan yāk or Dong.

(5) Hume and Henderson (*Lāhor to Yārkaṇd* p. 59) write of the numerous black yāk-hair tents seen round the Pangong Lake, of fine saddle yāks, and of the tame ones as being some white or brown but mostly black.

(6) Olufsen’s *Through the Unknown Pamirs* (p. 118) speaks of the large numbers of *Bos grunniens* (yāk) domesticated by the Kirghiz in the Pamirs.

(7) Cf. Gazetteer of India *s.n.* yāk.

(8) Shaikh Zain applies the word *baḥrī* to the porpoise, when paraphrasing the *Bābur-nāma* f. 281b.



## N.—NOTES ON A FEW BIRDS.

IN attempting to identify some of the birds of Bābur's lists difficulty arises from the variety of names provided by the different tongues of the region concerned, and also in some cases by the application of one name to differing birds. The following random gleanings enlarge and, in part, revise some earlier notes and translations of Mr. Erskine's and my own. They are offered as material for the use of those better acquainted with bird-lore and with Himālayan dialects.

*a. Concerning the lūkha, lūja, lūcha, kūja* (f. 135 and f. 278b).

The nearest word I have found to *lūkha* and its similars is *likkh*, a florican (Jerdon, ii, 615), but the florican has not the chameleon colours of the *lūkha* (var.). As Bābur when writing in Hindūstān, uses such "book-words" as Ar. *bahrī* (*qūtās*) and Ar. *bū-qalamūn* (chameleon), it would not be strange if his name for the "*lūkha*" bird represented Ar. *awja*, very beautiful, or connected with Ar. *loh*, shining splendour.

The form *kūja* is found in Ilminsky's imprint p. 361 (*Mémoires* ii, 198, *koudjeh*).

What is confusing to translators is that (as it now seems to me) Bābur appears to use the name *kabg-i-darī* in both passages (f. 135 and f. 278b) to represent two birds; (1) he compares the *lūkha* as to size with the *kabg-i-darī* of the Kābul region, and (2) for size and colour with that of Hindūstān. But the bird of the Western Himālayas known by the name *kabg-i-darī* is the Himālayan snow-cock, *Tetraogallus himālayensis*, Turkī, *aūlār* and in the Kābul region, *chūrtika* (f. 249, Jerdon, ii, 549–50); while the *kabg-i-darī* (syn. *chikor*) of Hindūstān, whether of hill or plain, is one or more of much smaller birds.

The snow-cock being 28 inches in length, the *lūkha* bird must be of this size. Such birds as to size and plumage of changing colour are the *Lophophori* and *Trapagons*, varieties of which are found in places suiting Bābur's account of the *lūkha*.

It may be noted that the Himālayan snow-cock is still called *kabg-i-darī* in Afghānistān (Jerdon, ii, 550) and in Kashmīr (Vigne's *Travels in Kashmīr* ii, 18). As its range is up to 18,000 feet, its Persian name describes it correctly whether read as "of the mountains" (*darī*), or as "royal" (*darī*) through its splendour.

I add here the following notes of Mr. Erskine's, which I have not quoted already where they occur (cf. f. 135 and f. 278b):—

On f. 135, "*lokheh*" is said to mean *hill-chikor*.

On f. 278b, to "*lūjeh*", "The Persian has *lūkheh*."

„ to "*kepkī durrī*", "The *kepkī deri*, or *durrī* is much larger than the common *kepk* of Persia and is peculiar to Khorāsān. It is said to be a beautiful bird. The common *kepk* of Persia and Khorāsān is the *hill-chikor* of India."

„ to "higher up", "The *lujeh* may be the *chikor* of the plains which Hunter calls bartavelle or Greek partridge."

The following corrections are needed about my own notes:— (1) on f. 135 (p. 213) n. 7 is wrongly referred; it belongs to the first word, *viz.* *kabg-i-darī*, of p. 214; (2) on f. 279 (p. 496) n. 2 should refer to the second *kabg-i-darī*.

*b. Birds called mūnāl (var. monāl and moonaul).*

Yule writing in *Hobson Jobson* (p. 580) of the "*moonaul*" which he identifies as *Lophophorus Impeyanus*, queries whether, on grounds he gives, the word *moonaul* is connected etymologically with Sanscrit *muni*, an "hermit". In continuation of his topic, I give here the names of other birds called *mūnāl*, which I have noticed in various ornithological works while turning their pages for other information.

Besides *L. Impeyanus* and *Trapagon Ceriornis satyra* which Yule mentions as called "*moonaul*", there are *L. refulgens*, *mūnāl* and *Ghūr* (mountain)-*mūnāl*; *Trapagon Ceriornis satyra*, called *mūnāl* in Nipāl; *T. C. melanocephalus*, called *sing*

(horned)-*mūnāl* in the N.W. Himālayas ; *T. himālayensis*, the *jer-* or *cher-mūnāl* of the same region, known also as *chikor* ; and *Lerwa nevicola*, the snow-partridge known in Garhwal as *Quoir-* or *Qūr-mūnāl*. Do all these birds behave in such a way as to suggest that *mūnāl* may imply the individual isolation related by Jerdon of *L. Impeyanus*, " In the autumnal and winter months numbers are generally collected in the same quarter of the forest, though often so widely scattered that each bird appears to be alone?" My own search amongst vocabularies of hill-dialects for the meaning of the word has been unsuccessful, spite of the long range *mūnāls* in the Himālayas.

*c. Concerning the word chūrtika, chourtkā.*

Jerdon's entry (ii, 549, 554) of the name *chourtkā* as a synonym of *Tetraogallus himālayensis* enables me to fill a gap I have left on f.249 (p.491 and n.6),<sup>1</sup> with the name Himālayan snow-cock, and to allow Bābur's statement to be that he, in January 1520 AD. when coming down from the *Bād-i-pīch* pass, saw many snow-cocks. The *Memoirs* (p.282) has "*chikors*", which in India is a synonym for *kabg-i-darī* ; the *Mémoires* (ii, 122) has *sauterelles*, but this meaning of *chūrtika* does not suit wintry January. That month would suit for the descent from higher altitudes of snow-cocks. Griffith, a botanist who travelled in Afghānistān *cir.* 1838 AD., saw myriads of *cicadæ* between Qilat-i-ghilzai and Ghazni, but the month was July.

*d. On the qūtān* (f.142, p.224 ; *Memoirs*, p.153 ; *Mémoires* ii, 313).

Mr. Erskine for *qūtān* enters *hawāšil* [gold-finch] which he will have seen interlined in the Elphinstone Codex (f.109b) in explanation of *qūtān*.

Shaikh Effendi (Kunos' ed., p.139) explains *qūtān* to be the gold-finch, *Steiglitz*.

Ilminsky's *qūtān* (p.175) is translated by M. de Courteille as *pélicane* and certainly some copies of the 2nd Persian translation [Muh. *Shūrāzi*'s p.90] have *hawāšil*, pelican.

The pelican would class better than the small finch with the

<sup>1</sup> My note 6 on p.421 shows my earlier difficulties, due to not knowing (when writing it) that *kabg-i-darī* represents the snow-cock in the Western Himālayas.

herons and egrets of Bābur's trio ; it also would appear a more likely bird to be caught " with the cord ".

That Bābur's *qūtān* (*hawāṣil*) migrated in great numbers is however against supposing it to be *Pelicanus onocrotatus* which is seen in India during the winter, because it appears there in moderate numbers only, and Blanford with other ornithologists states that no western pelican migrates largely into India.

Perhaps the *qūtān* was Linnæus' *Pelicanus carbo* of which one synonym is *Carbo comoranus*, the cormorant, a bird seen in India in large numbers of both the large and small varieties. As cormorants are not known to breed in that country, they will have migrated in the masses Bābur mentions.

A translation matter falls to mention here :—After saying that the *aiṣqār* (grey heron), *qarqara* (egret), and *qūtān* (cormorant) are taken with the cord, Bābur says that this method of bird-catching is unique (*bū nūh qūsh tūtmāq ghair muqarrar dūr*) and describes it. The Persian text omits to translate the *tūtmāq* (by *P. giriftan*) ; hence Erskine (*Mems.* p.153) writes, "The last mentioned fowl" (*i.e.* the *qūtān*) "is rare," notwithstanding Bābur's statement that all three of the birds he names are caught in masses. De Courteille (p.313) writes, as though only of the *qūtān*, "*ces derniers toutefois ne se prennent qu'accidentelment*," perhaps led to do so by knowledge of the circumstance that *Pelicanus onocrotatus* is rare in India.

## O.—NOTES BY HUMĀYŪN ON SOME HINDŪSTĀN FRUITS.

THE following notes, which may be accepted as made by Humāyūn and in the margin of the archetype of the Elphinstone Codex, are composed in Turkī which differs in diction from his father's but is far closer to that classic model than is that of the producer [Jahāngīr?] of the "Fragments" (Index *s.n.*). Various circumstances make the notes difficult to decipher *verbatim* and, unfortunately, when writing in Jan. 1917, I am unable to collate

with its original in the Advocates Library, the copy I made of them in 1910.

a. *On the kadhil, jack-fruit, Artocarpus integrifolia* (f. 283b, p. 506; Elphinstone MS. f. 235b).<sup>1</sup>

The contents of the note are that the strange-looking pumpkin (*gar'*, which is also Ibn Batuta's word for the fruit), yields excellent white juice, that the best fruit grows from the roots of the tree,<sup>2</sup> that many such grow in Bengal, and that in Bengal and Dihli there grows a *kadhil*-tree covered with hairs (*Artocarpus hirsuta*?).

b. *On the amrit-phal, mandarin-orange, Citrus aurantium* (f. 287, p. 512; Elphinstone Codex, f. 238b, l. 12).

The interest of this note lies in its reference to Bābur.

A Persian version of it is entered, without indication of what it is or of who was its translator, in one of the volumes of Mr. Erskine's manuscript remains, now in the British Museum (Add. 26,605, p. 88). Presumably it was made by his Turkish *manshi* for his note in the Memoirs (p. 329).

Various difficulties oppose the translation of the Turkī note; it is written into the text of the Elphinstone Codex in two instalments, neither of them in place, the first being interpolated in the account of the *amil-bīd* fruit, the second in that of the *jāsūn* flower; and there are verbal difficulties also. The Persian translation is not literal and in some particulars Mr. Erskine's rendering of this differs from what the Turkī appears to state.

The note is, tentatively, as follows: <sup>3</sup>—“His honoured Majesty Firdaus-makān <sup>4</sup>—may God make his proof clear!—did not

<sup>1</sup> By over-sight mention of this note was omitted from my article on the Elphinstone Codex (JRAS. 1907, p. 131).

<sup>2</sup> Speede's *Indian Hand-book* (i, 212) published in 1841 A.D. thus writes, “It is a curious circumstance that the finest and most esteemed fruit are produced from the roots below the surface of the ground, and are betrayed by the cracking of the earth above them, and the effluvia issuing from the fissure; a high price is given by rich natives for fruit so produced.”

<sup>3</sup> In the margin of the Elphinstone Codex opposite the beginning of the note are the words, “This is a marginal note of Humāyūn Pādshāh's.”

<sup>4</sup> Every Emperor of Hindūstān has an epithet given him after his death to distinguish him, and prevent the necessity of repeating his name too familiarly. Thus *Firdaus-makān* (dweller-in-paradise) is Bābur's; Humāyūn's is *Jannat-ashī-yānī*, he whose nest is in Heaven; Muḥammad Shāh's *Firdaus-āramgāh*, he whose place of rest is Paradise; etc. (Erskine).

favour the *amrit-phal*;<sup>1</sup> as he considered it insipid,<sup>2</sup> he likened it to the mild-flavoured<sup>3</sup> orange and did not make choice of it. So much was the mild-flavoured orange despised that if any person had disgusted (him) by insipid flattery (?) he used to say, 'He is like orange-juice.'<sup>4</sup>

"The *amrit-phal* is one of the very good fruits. Though its juice is not relishing (? *chūchūg*), it is extremely pleasant-drinking. Later on, in my own time, its real merit became known. Its tartness may be that of the orange (*nāranj*) and *lemu*."<sup>5</sup>

The above passage is followed, in the text of the Elphinstone Codex, by Bābur's account of the *jāsūn* flower, and into this a further instalment of Humāyūn's notes is interpolated, having opposite its first line the marginal remark, "This extra note, seemingly made by Humāyūn Pādshāh, the scribe has mistakenly written into the text." Whether its first sentence refer to the *amrit-phal* or to the *amil-bīd* must be left for decision to those well acquainted with the orange-tribe. It is obscure in my copy and abbreviated in its Persian translation; summarized it may state that when the fruit is unripe, its acidity is harmful to the digestion, but that it is very good when ripe.—The note then continues as below :—

*c. The kāmīla, H. kauṅlā, the orange.*<sup>6</sup>

"There are in Bengal two other fruits of the acid kind. Though the *amrit-phal* be not agreeable, they have resemblance to it (?)."

<sup>1</sup> Here Mr. Erskine notes, "Literally, *nectar-fruit*, probably the mandarin orange, by the natives called *nāringī*. The name *amrat*, or pear, in India is applied to the guava or *Psidium pyrififerum*—(*Spondias mangifera*, Hort. Ben.—D. Wallich)." . . . Mr. E. notes also that the note on the *amrit-phal* "is not found in either of the Persian translations".

<sup>2</sup> *chūchūmān*, Pers. trs. *shīrīnī bī maza*, perhaps flat, sweet without relish. Bābur does not use the word, nor have I traced it in a dictionary.

<sup>3</sup> *chūchūk*, savoury, nice-tasting, not acid (Shaw).

<sup>4</sup> *chūchūk nāranj āndāg* (?) *ma'ūn aīdī kīm har kīm-nī shīrīn-kārīghī bī maza qīlkāndī, nāranj-sū'ī dāk tūr dīrlār aīdī*.

<sup>5</sup> The *lemu* may be *Citrus limona*, which has abundant juice of a mild acid flavour.

<sup>6</sup> The *kāmīla* and *saṃtāra* are the real oranges (*kauṅlā* and *saṅtāra*), which are now (*cir.* 1816 AD.) common all over India. Dr. Hunter conjectures that the *saṅtāra* may take its name from Cintra, in Portugal. This early mention of it by Bābur and Humāyūn may be considered as subversive of that supposition. (This description of the *saṃtāra*, vague as it is, applies closer to the *Citrus decumana* or *pampelmus*, than to any other.—D. Wallich.)—Erskine.

“One is the *kāmila* which may be as large as an orange (*nāranj*); some took it to be a large *nārangī* (orange) but it is much pleasanter eating than the *nārangī* and is understood not to have the skin of that (fruit).”

*d. The samṭara.*<sup>1</sup>

The other is the *samṭara* which is larger than the orange (*nāranj*) but is not tart; unlike the *amrit-phal* it is not of poor flavour (*kam maza*) or little relish (*chūchūk*). In short a better fruit is not seen. It is good to see, good to eat, good to digest. One does not forget it. If it be there, no other fruit is chosen. Its peel may be taken off by the hand. However much of the fruit be eaten, the heart craves for it again. Its juice does not soil the hand at all. Its skin separates easily from its flesh. It may be taken during and after food. In Bengal the *samṭara* is rare (*ghāriḥ*) (or excellent, ‘*azīs*). It is understood to grow in one village Sanārgām (Sonargaon) and even there in a special quarter. There seems to be no fruit so entirely good as the *samṭara* amongst fruits of its class or, rather, amongst fruits of all kinds.”

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*Corrigendum* :—In my note on the *turunj bajāurī* (p. 511, n. 3) for *bijaurā* read *bījaurā*; and on p. 510, l. 2, for *palm* read *fingers*.

*Addendum* :—p. 510, l. 5. After *yūsūnlūk* add :—“The natives of Hindūstān when not wearing their ear-rings, put into the large ear-ring holes, slips of the palm-leaf bought in the bāzārs, ready for the purpose. The trunk of this tree is handsomer and more stately than that of the date.”

## P.—REMARKS ON BĀBUR'S REVENUE LIST (fol. 292).

### *a. Concerning the date of the List.*

The Revenue List is the last item of Bābur's account of Hindūstān and, with that account, is found *s.a.* 932 AH., manifestly

<sup>1</sup> Humāyūn writes of this fruit as though it were not the *sang-tara* described by his father on f. 287 (p. 511 and note).

too early, (1) because it includes districts and their revenues which did not come under Bābur's authority until subdued in his Eastern campaigns of 934 and 935 AH., (2) because Bābur's statement is that the "countries" of the List "are *now* in my possession" (*in loco* p. 520).

The List appears to be one of revenues realized in 936 or 937 AH. and not one of assessment or estimated revenue, (1) because Bābur's wording states as a fact that the revenue was 52 *krūrs*; (2) because the Persian heading of the (Persian) List is translatable as "Revenue (*jama'*)<sup>1</sup> of Hindūstān from what has so far come under the victorious standards".

*b. The entry of the List into European Literature.*

Readers of the L. and E. *Memoirs of Bābur* are aware that it does not contain the Revenue List (p. 334). The omission is due to the absence of the List from the Elphinstone Codex and from the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation. Since the *Memoirs of Bābur* was published in 1826 AD., the List has come from the *Bābur-nāma* into European literature by three channels.

Of the three the one used earliest is Shaikh Zain's *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī* which is a Persian paraphrase of part of Bābur's Hindūstān section. This work provided Mr. Erskine with what he placed in his *History of India* (London 1854, i, 540, Appendix D), but his manuscript, now B.M. Add. 26,202, is not the best copy of Shaikh Zain's book, being of far less importance than B.M. Or. 1999, [as to which more will be said.]<sup>2</sup>.

The second channel is Dr. Ilminsky's imprint of the Turkī text (Kāsān 1857, p. 379), which is translated by the *Mémoires de Bāber* (Paris 1871, ii, 230).

The third channel is the Ḥaidarābād Codex, in the English translation of which [*in loco*] the List is on p. 521.

Shaikh Zain may have used Bābur's autograph manuscript for his paraphrase and with it the Revenue List. His own autograph manuscript was copied in 998 AH. (1589-90 AD.) by

<sup>1</sup> M. de Courteille translated *jama'* in a general sense by *totalité* instead of in its Indian technical one of revenue (as here) or of assessment. Hence Professor Dowson's "totality" (iv, 262 n.).

<sup>2</sup> The B.M. has a third copy, Or. 5879, which my husband estimates as of little importance.



Khwānd-amīr's grandson 'Abdu'l-lāh who may be the scribe "Mir 'Abdu'l-lāh" of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* (Blochmann's trs. p. 109). 'Abdu'l-lāh's transcript (from which a portion is now absent,) after having been in Sir Henry Elliot's possession, has become B.M. Or. 1999. It is noticed briefly by Professor Dowson (*l.c.* iv, 288), but he cannot have observed that the "old, worm-eaten" little volume contains Bābur's Revenue List, since he does not refer to it.

*c. Agreement and variation in copies of the List.*

The figures in the two copies (Or. 1999 and Add. 26,202) of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī* are in close agreement. They differ, however, from those in the Ḥaidarābād Codex, not only in a negligible unit and a ten of *tankas* but in having 20,000 more *tankas* from Oudh and Baraich and 30 *laks* of *tankas* more from Transutlej.

The figures in the two copies of the *Bābur-nāma*, *viz.* the Ḥaidarābād Codex and the Kehr-Ilminsky imprint are not in agreement throughout, but are identical in opposition to the variants (20,000 *t.* and 30 *l.*) mentioned above. As the two are independent, being collateral descendants of Bābur's original papers, the authority of the Ḥaidarābād Codex in the matter of the List is still further enhanced.

*d. Varia.*

(1) The place-names of the List are all traceable, whatever their varied forms. About the entry L:knū [or L:knūr] and B:ks:r [or M:ks:r] a difficulty has been created by its variation in manuscripts, not only in the List but where the first name occurs *s.a.* 934 and 935AH. In the Ḥaidarābād List and in that of Or. 1999 L:knūr is clearly written and may represent (approximately) modern Shahābād in Rāmpūr. Erskine and de Courteille, however, have taken it to be Lakhnau in Oudh. [The distinction of Lakhnaur from Lakhnau in the historical narrative is discussed in Appendix T.]

(2) It may be noted, as of interest, that the name Sarwār is an abbreviation of Sarjūpār which means "other side of Sarjū" (Sarū, Goghrā; E. and D.'s H. of I. i, 56, n.4).

(3) Rūp-narāin (Deo or Dev) is mentioned in Ajodhya Prasad's short history of Tirhut and Darbhanga, the *Gulzār-i-Bihār* (Calcutta 1869, Cap. v, 88) as the 9th of the Brahman rulers of Tirhut and as having reigned for 25 years, from 917 to 942 *Fasli* (?). If the years were Hijrī, 917–42AH. would be 1511–1535.<sup>1</sup>

(4) Concerning the *tanka* the following modern description is quoted from Mr. R. Shaw's *High Tartary* (London 1871, p.464) "The *tanga*" (or *tanka*) "is a nominal coin, being composed of 25 little copper cash, with holes pierced in them and called *dahcheen*. These are strung together and the quantity of them required to make up the value of one of these silver ingots" ("*kooroos* or *yamboos*, value nearly £17") "weighs a considerable amount. I once sent to get change for a *kooroos*, and my servants were obliged to charter a donkey to bring it home."

(5) The following interesting feature of Shaikh Zain's *Ṭabaqāt-i-bāburī* has been mentioned to me by my husband:—Its author occasionally reproduces Bābur's Turkī words instead of paraphrasing them in Persian, and does this for the noticeable passage in which Bābur records his dissatisfied view of Hindūstān (f.290b, *in loco* p.518), prefacing his quotation with the remark that it is best and will be nearest to accuracy not to attempt translation but to reproduce the Pādshāh's own words. The main interest of the matter lies in the motive for reproducing the *ipsissima verba*. Was that motive deferential? Did the revelation of feeling and opinion made in the quoted passage clothe it with privacy so that Shaikh Zain reserved its perusal from the larger public of Hindūstān who might read Persian but not Turkī? Some such motive would explain the insertion untranslated of Bābur's letters to Humāyūn and to Khwāja Kalān which are left in Turkī by 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Mīrzā.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir G. A. Grierson, writing in the *Indian Antiquary* (July 1885, p. 187), makes certain changes in Ajodhya Prasad's list of the Brahman rulers of Tirhut, on grounds he states.

<sup>2</sup> Index *s.n.* Bābur's letters. The passage Shaikh Zain quotes is found in Or. 1999, f. 65b, Add. 26,202, f. 66b, Or. 5879, f. 79b.

## Q.—CONCERNING THE “RĀMPŪR DĪWĀN”.

PENDING the wide research work necessary to interpret Bābur’s Hindūstān poems which the Rāmpūr manuscript preserves, the following comments, some tentative and open to correction, may carry further in making the poems publicly known, what Dr. E. Denison Ross has effected by publishing his Facsimile of the manuscript.<sup>1</sup> It is legitimate to associate comment on the poems with the *Bābur-nāma* because many of them are in it with their context of narrative ; most, if not all, connect with it ; some without it, would be dull and vapid.

a. *An authorized English title.*

The contents of the Rāmpūr MS. are precisely what Bābur describes sending to four persons some three weeks after the date attached to the manuscript,<sup>2</sup> viz. “the Translation and what-not of poems made on coming to Hindūstān” ;<sup>3</sup> and a similar description may be meant in the curiously phrased first clause of the colophon, but without mention of the Translation (of the *Wālidīyyah-risāla*).<sup>4</sup> Hence, if the poems, including the Translation, became known as the *Hindūstān Poems* or *Poems made in Hindūstān*, such title would be justified by their author’s words. Bābur does not call the Hindūstān poems a *dīwān* even when, as in the above quotation, he speaks of them apart from his versified translation of the Tract. In what has come down to us of his autobiography, he applies the name *Dīwān* to poems of his own once only, this in 925 AH. (f. 237b) when he records sending “my *dīwān*” to Pūlād Sl. *Aūzbeḡ*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Index *in loco* for references to Bābur’s metrical work, and for the Facsimile, JASB. 1910, Extra Number.

<sup>2</sup> Monday, Rabī’ II. 15th 935 AH.—Dec. 27th 1528 AD. At this date Bābur had just returned from Dhūlpūr to Āgra (f. 354, p. 635, where in note I for Thursday read Monday).

<sup>3</sup> Owing to a scribe’s “skip” from one *yībārīlātī* (was sent) to another at the end of the next sentence, the passage is not in the Hai. MS. It is not well given in my translation (f. 357b, p. 642) ; what stands above is a closer rendering of the full Turkī, *Humāyūnḡha tarjuma [u ?] nī-kīm Hindūstānḡha kīlkānī aīḡān ash’ārnī yībārīlātī* (Iliminsky p. 462, l. 4 fr. ft., where however there appears a slight clerical error).

<sup>4</sup> Hesitation about accepting the colophon as unquestionably applying to the whole contents of the manuscript is due to its position of close association with one section only of the three in the manuscript (cf. *post* p. lx).

*b. The contents of the Rāmpūr MS.*

There are three separate items of composition in the manuscript, marked as distinct from one another by having each its ornamented frontispiece, each its scribe's sign (*mīm*) of Finis, each its division from its neighbour by a space without entry. The first and second sections bear also the official sign [*ṣahḥ*] that the copy has been inspected and found correct.

(1) The first section consists of Bābur's metrical translation of Khwāja 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḥrārī's Parental Tract* (*Wālidīyyah-riṣāla*), his prologue in which are his reasons for versifying the Tract and his epilogue which gives thanks for accomplishing the task. It ends with the date 935 (Hai. MS. f. 346). Below this are *mīm* and *ṣahḥ*, the latter twice; they are in the scribe's hand-writing, and thus make against supposing that Bābur wrote down this copy of the Tract or its archetype from which the official *ṣahḥ* will have been copied. Moreover, spite of bearing two vouchers of being a correct copy, the Translation is emended, in a larger script which may be that of the writer of the marginal quatrain on the last page of the [Rāmpūr] MS. and there attested by Shāh-i-jahān as Bābur's autograph entry. His also may have been the now expunged writing on the half-page left empty of text at the end of the Tract. Expunged though it be, fragments of words are visible.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The second section has in its frontispiece an inscription illegible (to me) in the Facsimile. It opens with a *masnawī* of 41 couplets which is followed by a *ghazel* and numerous poems in several measures, down to a triad of rhymed couplets (*matla'*?), the whole answering to descriptions of a *Dīwān* without formal arrangement. After the last couplet are *mīm* and *ṣahḥ* in the scribe's hand-writing, and a blank quarter-page. Mistakes in this section have been left uncorrected, which supports the view that its *ṣahḥ* avouches the accuracy of its archetype and not its own.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plate XI, and p. 15 (mid-page) of the Facsimile booklet.—The Facsimile does not show the whole of the marginal quatrain, obviously because for the last page of the manuscript a larger photographic plate was needed than for the rest. With Dr. Ross' concurrence a photograph in which the defect is made good, accompanies this Appendix.

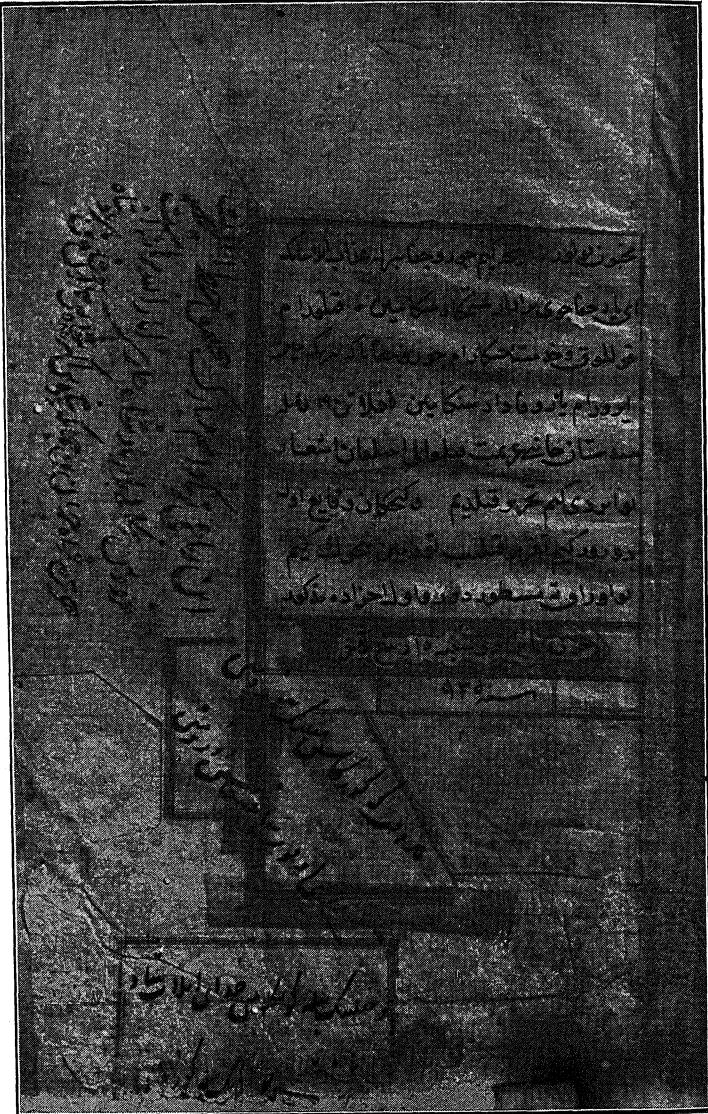
<sup>2</sup> The second section ends on Plate XVII, and p. 21 of the Facsimile booklet.

(3) The third section shows no inscription on its frontispiece. It opens with the *masnawī* of eight couplets, found also in the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 312), one of earlier date than many of the poems in the second section. It is followed by three *rubāʿī* which complete the collection of poems made in Hindūstān. A prose passage comes next, describing the composition and transposition-in-metre of a couplet of 16 feet, with examples in three measures, the last of which ends in l. 4 of the photograph.—While fixing the date of this metrical game, Bābur incidentally allows that of his *Treatise on Prosody* to be inferred from the following allusive words:—"When going to Sambhal (f. 330b) in the year (933 AH.) after the conquest of Hindūstān (932 AH.), two years after writing the 'Arūz, I composed a couplet of 16 feet."—From this the date of the *Treatise* is seen to be 931 AH., some two years later than that of the *Mubīn*. The above metrical exercise was done about the same time as another concerning which a *Treatise* was written, *viz.* that mentioned on f. 330b, when a couplet was transposed into 504 measures (Section f, p. lxx).—The Facsimile, it will be noticed, shows something unusual in the last line of the prose passage on Plate XVIII B, where the scattering of the words suggests that the scribe was trying to copy page *per* page.

The colophon (which begins on l. 5 of the photograph) is curiously worded, as though the frequent fate of last pages had befallen its archetype, that of being mutilated and difficult for a scribe to make good; it suggests too that the archetype was verse.<sup>†</sup> Its first clause, even if read as *Hind-stān jānibī ʿazīmat qīlghānī* (i.e. not *qīlghālī*, as it can be read), has an indirectness unlike Bābur's corresponding "after coming to Hindūstān" (f. 357b), and is not definite; (2) *bū aīrdī* (these were) is not the complement suiting *aūl dūrūr* (those are); (3) Bābur does not use the form *dūrūr* in prose; (4) the undue space after *dūrūr* suggests connection with verse; (5) there is no final verb such as prose needs. The meaning, however, may be as follows:—The poems made after resolving on (the)

<sup>†</sup> Needless to say that whatever the history of the manuscript, its value as preserving poems of which no other copy is known publicly, is untouched. This value would be great without the marginal entries on the last page; it finds confirmation in the identity of many of the shorter poems with counterparts in the *Bābur-nāma*.





Hindūstān parts (*jānibī?*) were these I have written down (*tahrīr qildīm*), and past events are those I have narrated (*tagrīr*) in the way that (*nī-chūk kīm*) (has been) written in these folios (*aūrāq*) and recorded in those sections (*ajṣā*).—From this it would appear that sections of the *Bābur-nāma* (f. 376b, p. 678) accompanied the Hindūstān poems to the recipient of the message conveyed by the colophon.

Close under the colophon stands *Harara-hu Bābur* and the date Monday, Rabī' II. 15th 935 (Monday, December 27th 1528 AD.), the whole presumably brought over from the archetype. To the question whether a signature in the above form would be copied by a scribe, the Elphinstone Codex gives an affirmative answer by providing several examples of notes, made by Humāyūn in its archetype, so-signed and brought over either into its margin or interpolated in its text. Some others of Humāyūn's notes are not so-signed, the scribe merely saying they are Humāyūn Pādshāh's.—It makes against taking the above entry of Bābur's name to be an autograph signature, (1) that it is enclosed in an ornamented border, as indeed is the case wherever it occurs throughout the manuscript; (2) that it is followed by the scribe's *mīm*. [See end of following section.]

*c. The marginal entries shown in the photograph.*

The marginal note written length-wise by the side of the text is signed by Shāh-i-jahān and attests that the *rubā'i* and the signature to which it makes reference are in Bābur's autograph hand-writing. His note translates as follows:—This quatrain and blessed name are in the actual hand-writing of that Majesty (*ān ḥazrat*) *Firdaus-makānī* Bābur Pādshāh *Ghāzī*—May God make his proof clear!—Signed (*Hararā-hu*), Shāh-i-jahān son of Jahāngīr Pādshāh son of Akbar Pādshāh son of Humāyūn Pādshāh son of Bābur Pādshāh.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>†</sup> Another autograph of Shāh-i-jahān's is included in the translation volume (p. xiii) of Gul-badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma*. It surprises one who works habitually on historical writings more nearly contemporary with Bābur, in which he is spoken of as *Firdaus-makānī* or as *Gīlī-sitānī Firdaus-makānī* and not by the name used during his life, to find Shāh-i-jahān giving him the two styles (cf. *Jahāngīr's Memoirs* trs. ii, 5). Those familiar with the writings of Shāh-i-jahān's biographers will know whether this is usual at that date. There would seem no doubt as to the identity of *ān Ḥazrat*.—The words *ān ḥazrat* by which Shāh-i-jahān refers to Bābur are used also in the epitaph placed by Jahāngīr at Bābur's tomb (Trs. Note p. 710-711).



The second marginal entry is the curiously placed *rubā'ī*, which is now the only one on the page, and now has no signature attaching to it. It has the character of a personal message to the recipient of one of more books having identical contents. That these two entries are there while the text seems so clearly to be written by a scribe, is open to the explanation that when (as said about the colophon, p. lx) the rectangle of text was made good from a mutilated archetype, the original margin was placed round the *rifacimento* ? This superposition would explain the entries and seal-like circles, discernible against a strong light, on the reverse of the margin only, through the *rifacimento* page. The upper edge of the rectangle shows sign that the margin has been adjusted to it [so far as one can judge from a photograph]. Nothing on the face of the margin hints that the text itself is autograph ; the words of the colophon, *tahrīr qūldīm* (*i.e.* I have written down) cannot hold good against the cumulative testimony that a scribe copied the whole manuscript.—The position of the last syllable [*nī*] of the *rubā'ī* shows that the signature below the colophon was on the margin before the diagonal couplet of the *rubā'ī* was written,—therefore when the margin was fitted, as it looks to have been fitted, to the *rifacimento*. If this be the order of the two entries [*i.e.* the small-hand signature and the diagonal couplet], Shāh-i-jahān's "blessed name" may represent the small-hand signature which certainly shows minute differences from the writing of the text of the MS. in the name Bābur (*q.v. passim* in the Rāmpūr MS.).

*d. The Bāburī-khattī (Bābur's script).*

So early as 910AH. the year of his conquest of Kābul, Bābur devised what was probably a variety of *nakhsh*, and called it the *Bāburī-khattī* (f. 144b), a name used later by Ḥaidar Mīrzā, Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad and 'Abdu'l-qādir *Badāyūnī*. He writes of it again (f. 179) *s.a.* 911AH. when describing an interview had in 912 AH. with one of the Harāt Qāzīs, at which the script was discussed, its specialities (*mufradāt*) exhibited to, and read by the Qāzī who there and then wrote in it.<sup>1</sup> In what remains to us

<sup>1</sup> The Qāzī's rapid acquirement of the *mufradāt* of the script allows the inference that few letters only and those of a well-known script were varied.—*Mufradāt* was translated by Erskine, de Courteille and myself (f. 357b) as alphabet but reconsideration

of the *Bābur-nāma* it is not mentioned again till 935 AH. (fol. 357b) but at some intermediate date Bābur made in it a copy of the Qorān which he sent to Makka.<sup>1</sup> In 935 AH. (f. 357b) it is mentioned in significant association with the despatch to each of four persons of a copy of the Translation (of the *Wālidīyyah-risāla*) and the Hindūstān poems, the significance of the association being that the simultaneous despatch with these copies of specimens of the *Bāburī-khattī* points to its use in the manuscripts, and at least in Hind-āl's case, to help given for reading novel forms in their text. The above are the only instances now found in the *Bābur-nāma* of mention of the script.

The little we have met with—we have made no search—about the character of the script comes from the *Abūshqā*, s.n. *sīghnāq*, in the following entry :—

*Sīghnāq ber nu'ah khattī der Chaghatāda khattī Bāburī u ghairī kibī ki Bābur Mīrzā ash'ār'nda kīlūr bait*

*Khūblār khattī naşīb'ng būlmāsā Bābur nī tāng ?*

*Bāburī khattī aīmās dūr khattī sīghnāqī mū dūr ?<sup>2</sup>*

The old Osmanli-Turkish prose part of this appears to mean :—  
“*Sīghnāq* is a sort of hand-writing, in Chaghatāi the *Bāburī-khattī* and others resembling it, as appears in Bābur Mīrzā's poems. Couplet” :—

Without knowing the context of the couplet I make no attempt to translate it because its words *khattī* or *khat* and

by the light of more recent information about the *Bāburī-khattī* leads me to think this is wrong because “alphabet” includes every letter.—On f. 357b three items of the *Bāburī-khattī* are specified as despatched with the Hindūstān poems, viz. *mufradāt*, *qita'lār* and *sar-i-khattī*. Of these the first went to Hind-āl, the third to Kāmran, and no recipient is named for the second; all translators have sent the *qita'lār* to Hind-āl but I now think this wrong and that a name has been omitted, probably Humāyūn's.

<sup>1</sup> f. 144b, p. 228, n. 3. Another interesting matter missing from the *Bābur-nāma* by the gap between 914 and 925 AH. is the despatch of an embassy to Czar Vassili III. in Moscow, mentioned in Schuyler's *Turkistan* ii, 394, Appendix IV, Grigorief's *Russian Policy in Central Asia*. The mission went after “Sultān Bābur” had established himself in Kābul; as Bābur does not write of it before his narrative breaks off abruptly in 914 AH. it will have gone after that date.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the Véliaminof-Zernov edition (p. 287) from which de Courteille's plan of work involved extract only; he translates the couplet, giving to *khattī* the double-meanings of script and dawn of youth (*Dictionnaire Turque* s.n. *sīghnāqī*). The *Sanglākāh* (p. 252) s.n. *sīghnāq* has the following as Bābur's :—

*Chū balai khattī naşīb'ng būlmāsa Bābur nī tāng ?*  
*Bare khattī almanşūr khattī sīghnāqī mū dūr ?*

*sighnāq* lend themselves to the kind of pun (*īhām*) "which consists in the employment of a word or phrase having more than one appropriate meaning, whereby the reader is often left in doubt as to the real significance of the passage." <sup>1</sup> The rest of the *rubā'ī* may be given [together with the six other quotations of Bābur's verse now known only through the *Abūshqā*], in early *Tagkirātu 'sh-shu'āra* of date earlier than 967 AH.

The root of the word *sighnāq* will be *sīq*, pressed together, crowded, included, *etc.*; taking with this notion of compression, the explanations *feine Schrift* of Shaikh Effendi (Kunos) and Vambéry's *pétite écriture*, the *Sighnāqī* and *Bāburī* Scripts are allowed to have been what that of the *Rāmpūr* MS. is, a small, compact, elegant hand-writing.—A town in the Caucasus named *Sighnākh*, "*située à peu près à 800 mètres d'altitude, commença par être une forteresse et un lieu de refuge, car telle est la signification de son nom tartare.*" <sup>2</sup> *Sighnāqī* is given by de Courteille (*Dict.* p. 368) as meaning a place of refuge or shelter.

The *Bāburī-khatt* will be only one of the several hands Bābur is reputed to have practised; its description matches it with other niceties he took pleasure in, fine distinctions of eye and ear in measure and music.

*e. Is the Rāmpūr MS. an example of the Bāburī-khatt?*

Though only those well-acquainted with Oriental manuscripts dating before 910 AH. (1504 AD.) can judge whether novelties appear in the script of the *Rāmpūr* MS. and this particularly in its head-lines, there are certain grounds for thinking that though the manuscript be not Bābur's autograph, it may be in his script and the work of a specially trained scribe.

I set these grounds down because although the signs of a scribe's work on the manuscript seem clear, it is "locally" held to be Bābur's autograph. Has a tradition of its being in the *Bāburī-khatt* glided into its being in the *khatt-i-Bābur*? Several circumstances suggest that it may be written in the *Bāburī-khatt*:—(1) the script is specially associated with the four transcripts

<sup>1</sup> Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* i, 113 and ii, 137.

<sup>2</sup> Réclus' *L'Asie Russe* p. 238.

of the Hindūstān poems (f. 357<sup>b</sup>), for though many letters must have gone to his sons, some indeed are mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, it is only with the poems that specimens of it are recorded as sent ; (2) another matter shows his personal interest in the arrangement of manuscripts, namely, that as he himself about a month after the four books had gone off, made a new ruler, particularly on account of the head-lines of the Translation, it may be inferred that he had made or had adopted the one he superseded, and that his plan of arranging the poems was the model for copyists; the Rāmpūr MS. bearing, in the Translation section, corrections which may be his own, bears also a date earlier than that at which the four gifts started ; it has its head-lines ill-arranged and has throughout 13 lines to the page ; his new ruler had 11 ; (3) perhaps the words *tahrīr qildīm* used in the colophon of the Rāmpūr MS. should be read with their full connotation of careful and elegant writing, or, put modestly, as saying, “ I wrote down in my best manner,” which for poems is likely to be in the *Bāburī-khatt*.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps an example of Bābur’s script exists in the colophon, if not in the whole of the *Mubīn* manuscript once owned by Berézine, by him used for his *Chrétomathie Turque*, and described by him as “ unique ”. If this be the actual manuscript Bābur sent into Mā warā’u’n-nahr (presumably to Khwāja Ahrārī’s family), its colophon which is a personal message addressed to the recipients, is likely to be autograph.

#### *f. Metrical amusements.*

(1) Of two instances of metrical amusements belonging to the end of 933 AH. and seeming to have been the distractions of illness, one is a simple transposition “ in the fashion of the circles ” (*dawā’ir*) into three measures (Rāmpūr MS. Facsimile, Plate XVIII and p. 22) ; the other is difficult because of the high number of 504 into which Bābur says (f. 330<sup>b</sup>) he cut up the following couplet :—

*Gūz u qāsh u soz u tīlīnī mū dī ?*  
*Qad u khadd u saj u bīlīnī mū dī ?*

<sup>1</sup> On this same *tahrīr qildīm* may perhaps rest the opinion that the Rāmpūr MS. is autograph.

All manuscripts agree in having 504, and Bābur wrote a tract (*risāla*) upon the transpositions.<sup>1</sup> None of the modern treatises on Oriental Prosody allow a number so high to be practicable, but Maulānā Saifī of Bukhārā, of Bābur's own time (f. 180b) makes 504 seem even moderate, since after giving much detail about *rubā'ī* measures, he observes, "Some say there are 10,000" (*Arūz-i-Saifī*, Ranking's trs. p. 122). Presumably similar possibilities were open for the couplet in question. It looks like one made for the game, asks two foolish questions and gives no reply, lends itself to poetic license, and, if permutation of words have part in such a game, allows much without change of sense. Was Bābur's cessation of effort at 504 capricious or enforced by the exhaustion of possible changes? Is the arithmetical statement  $9 \times 8 \times 7 = 504$  the formula of the practicable permutations?

(2) To improvise verse having a given rhyme and topic must have demanded quick wits and much practice. Bābur gives at least one example of it (f. 252b) but Jahāngīr gives a fuller and more interesting one, not only because a *rubā'ī* of Bābur's was the model but from the circumstances of the game:<sup>2</sup>—It was in 1024 AH. (1615 AD.) that a letter reached him from Mā warā'u'n-nahr written by Khwāja Hāshim *Naqsh-bandī* [who by the story is shown to have been of Ahrārī's line], and recounting the long devotion of his family to Jahāngīr's ancestors. He sent gifts and enclosed in his letter a copy of one of Bābur's quatrains which he said Ḥazrat Firdaus-makānī had written for Ḥazrat Khwājagī (Ahrārī's eldest son; f. 36b, p. 62 n. 2). Jahāngīr quotes a final hemistich only, "*Khwājagīra mānda'im, Khwājagīrā banda'im,*" and thereafter made an impromptu verse upon the one sent to him.

A curious thing is that the line he quotes is not part of the quatrain he answered, but belongs to another not appropriate for a message between *darwesh* and *pādshāh*, though likely to have been sent by Bābur to Khwājagī. I will quote both because

<sup>1</sup> I have found no further mention of the tract; it may be noted however that whereas Bābur calls his *Treatise on Prosody* (written in 931 AH.) the '*Arūz*, Abū'l-faḥr writes of a *Mufaṣṣal*, a suitable name for 504 details of transposition.

<sup>2</sup> *Tuzūk-i-jahāngīr* lith. ed. p. 149; and *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* trs. i, 304. [In both books the passage requires amending.]

the matter will come up again for who works on the Hindūstān poems.<sup>1</sup>

(1) The quatrain from the *Hindūstān Poems* is :—

*Dar hawā'ī nafs gumrah 'umr zāi' kardā'im [kanda'im ?] ;*  
*Pesh ahl-i-allāh az af'āl-i-khūd sharmanda'im ;*  
*Yak nazr bā mukhlaşān-i-khasta-dil farmā ki mā*  
*Khwājagīrā mānda'im u Khwājagīrā banda'im.*

(2) That from the *Akbar-nāma* is :—

*Darweshānrā agarcha nah az khweshānīm,*  
*Lek az dil u jān mu'taqid eshānīm ;*  
*Dūr ast magū'ī shāhī az darweshī,*  
*Shāhīm walī banda-i-darweshānīm.*

The greater suitability of the second is seen from Jahāngīr's answering impromptu for which by sense and rhyme it sets the model ; the meaning, however, of the fourth line in each may be identical, namely, "I remain the ruler but am the servant of the *darwesh*." Jahāngīr's impromptu is as follows :—

*Āī ānki marā mihr-i-tū besh az besh ast,*  
*Az daulat yād-i-būdat āī darwesh ast ;*  
*Chandānki 'z muzhdahāt dilam shād shavad*  
*Shādīm az ānki laṭif az ḥadd besh ast.*

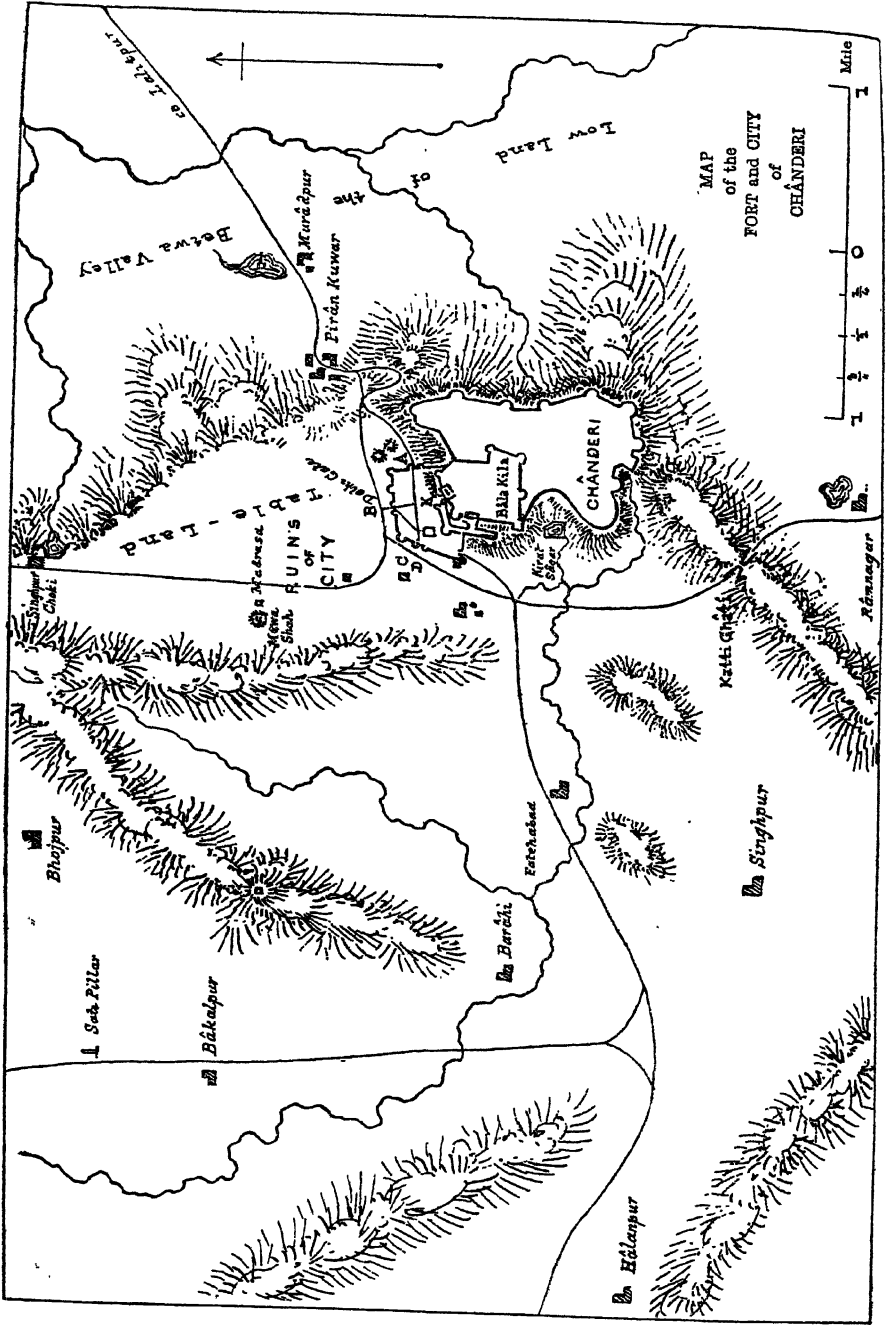
He then called on those who had a turn for verse to "speak one" *i.e.* to improvise on his own ; it was done as follows :—

*Dārīm agarcha shaghal-i-shāhī dar pesh,*  
*Har lahza kunīm yād-i-darweshān besh ;*  
*Gar shād shavad 'z mā dil-i-yak darwesh,*  
*Ānra shumārīm ḥasil-i-shāhī khwesh.*

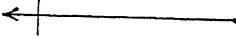
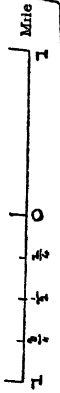
## R.—CHANDĪRĪ AND GŪĀLĪĀR.

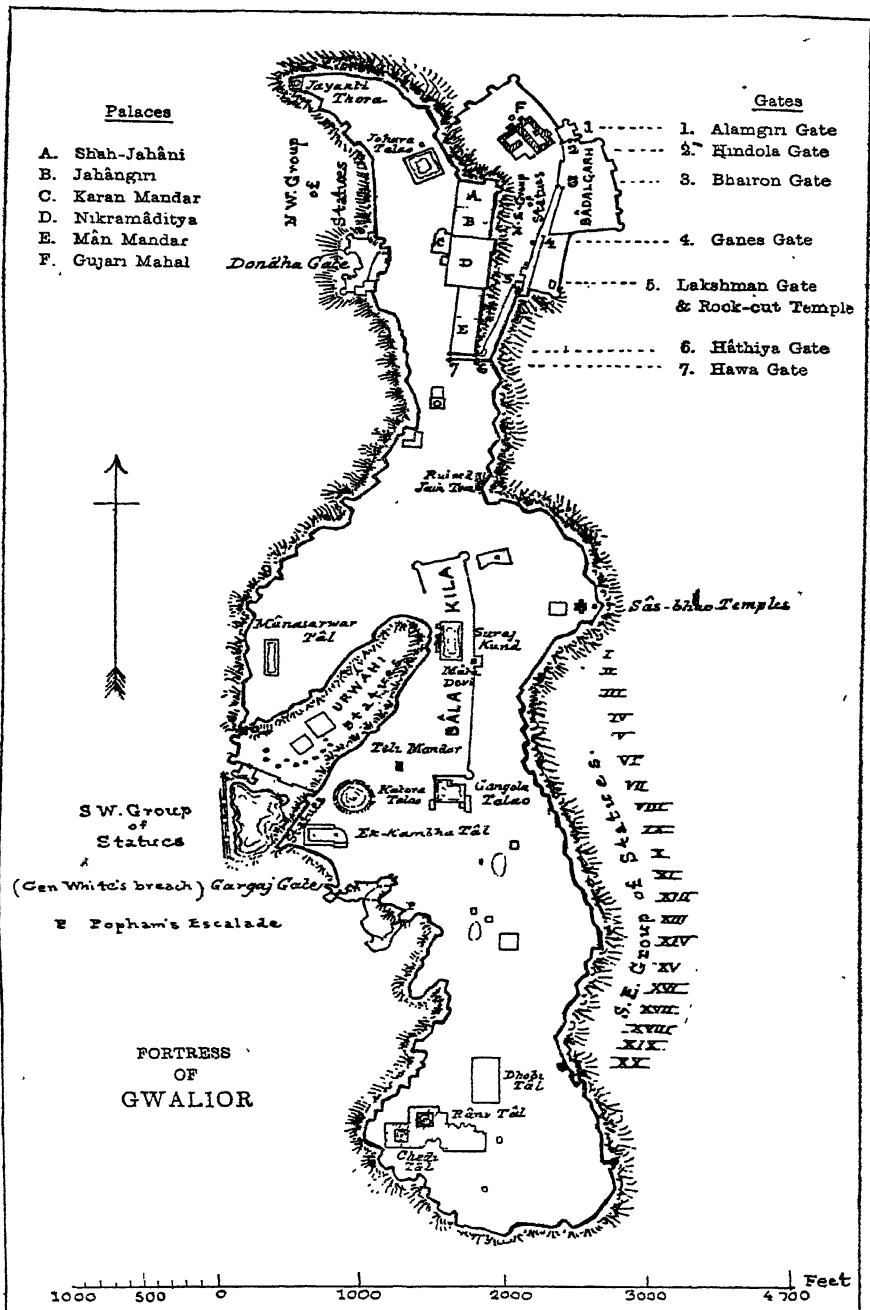
THE courtesy of the Government of India enables me to reproduce from the *Archæological Survey Reports* of 1871, Sir Alexander Cunningham's plans of Chandīrī and Gūālīār, which illustrate Bābur's narrative on f. 333, p. 592, and f. 340, p. 607.

<sup>1</sup> Rāmpūr MS. Facsimile Plate XIV and p. 16, verse 3 ; *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 279, and lith. ed. p. 91.



MAP  
of the  
FORT and CITY  
of  
CHANDERI





A. Cunningham del.



## S.—CONCERNING THE BĀBUR-NĀMA DATING OF 935 AH.

THE dating of the diary of 935 AH. (f. 339 *et seq.*) is several times in opposition to what may be distinguished as the "book-rule" that the 12 lunar months of the Hijra year alternate in length between 30 and 29 days (intercalary years excepted), and that Muḥarram starts the alternation with 30 days. An early book stating the rule is Gladwin's *Bengal Revenue Accounts*; a recent one, Ranking's ed. of Platts' *Persian Grammar*.

As to what day of the week was the initial day of some of the months in 935 AH. Bābur's days differ from Wüstenfeld's who gives the full list of twelve, and from Cunningham's single one of Muḥarram 1st.

It seems worth while to draw attention to the flexibility, within limits, of Bābur's dating, [not with the object of adversely criticizing a rigid and convenient rule for common use, but as supplementary to that rule from a somewhat special source], because he was careful and observant, his dating was contemporary, his record, as being *de die in diem*, provides a check of consecutive narrative on his dates, which, moreover, are all held together by the external fixtures of Feasts and by the marked recurrence of Fridays observed. Few such writings as the Bābur-nāma diaries appear to be available for showing variation within a year's limit.

In 935 AH. Bābur enters few full dates, *i.e.* days of the week and month. Often he gives only the day of the week, the safest, however, in a diary. He is precise in saying at what time of the night or the day an action was done; this is useful not only as helping to get over difficulties caused by minor losses of text, but in the more general matter of the transference of a Hijra night-and-day which begins after sunset, to its Julian equivalent, of a day-and-night which begins at 12 a.m. This sometimes difficult transference affords a probable explanation of a good number of the discrepant dates found in Oriental-Occidental books.

Two matters of difference between the Bābur-nāma dating and that of some European calendars are as follows:—

*a. Discrepancy as to the day of the week on which Muḥ. 935 AH. began.*

This discrepancy is not a trivial matter when a year's diary is concerned. The record of Muḥ. 1st and 2nd is missing from the *Bābur-nāma*; Friday the 3rd day of Muḥarram is the first day specified; the 1st was a Wednesday therefore. Erskine accepted this day; Cunningham and Wüstenfeld give Tuesday. On three grounds Wednesday seems right—at any rate at that period and place:—(1) The second Friday in Muḥarram was 'Āshūr, the 10th (f. 240); (2) Wednesday is in serial order if reckoning be made from the last surviving date of 934 AH. with due allowance of an intercalary day to Zū'l-ḥijja (Gladwin), *i.e.* from Thursday Rajab 12th (April 2nd 1528 AD. f. 339, p. 602); (3) Wednesday is supported by the daily record of far into the year.

*b. Variation in the length of the months of 935 AH.*

There is singular variation between the *Bābur-nāma* and Wüstenfeld's *Tables*, both as to the day of the week on which months began, and as to the length of some months. This variation is shown in the following table, where asterisks mark agreement as to the days of the week, and the capital letters, quoted from W.'s *Tables*, denote A, Sunday; B, Tuesday, *etc.* (the bracketed names being of my entry).

<i>Bābur-nāma.</i>		<i>Wüstenfeld.</i>	
	Days.	Days.	
Muḥarram . . .	29 Wednesday	30	C (Tuesday).
Šafar . . . .	30 Thursday *	29	E (Thursday).*
Rabī' I. . . .	30 Saturday	30	F (Friday).
„ II. . . .	29 Monday	29	A (Sunday).
Jumāda I. . .	30 Tuesday	30	B (Monday).
„ II. . . .	29 Thursday	29	D (Wednesday).
Rajab . . . .	29 Friday	30	E (Thursday).
Sha'bān . . .	30 Saturday *	29	G (Saturday).*
Ramzān . . .	29 Monday	30	A (Sunday).
Shawwal . . .	30 Tuesday *	29	C (Tuesday).*
Zū'l-qa'da . .	29 Thursday	30	D (Wednesday).
Zū'l-ḥijja . .	30 Friday *	29	T (Friday).*

The table shows that notwithstanding the discrepancy discussed in section *a*, of Bābur's making 935 AH. begin on a Wednesday, and Wüstenfeld on a Tuesday, the two authorities agree as to the initial week-day of four months out of twelve, *viz.* Şafar, Sha'bān, Shawwal and Zū'l-hijja.

Again :—In eight of the months the *Bābur-nāma* reverses the "book-rule" of alternative Muḥarram 30 days, Şafar 29 days *et seq.* by giving Muḥarram 29, Şafar 30. (This is seen readily by following the initial days of the week.) Again :—these eight months are in pairs having respectively 29 and 30 days, and the year's total is 364.—Four months follow the fixed rule, *i.e.* as though the year had begun Muḥ. 30 days, Şafar 29 days—namely, the two months of Rabi' and the two of Jumāda.—Ramzān to which under "book-rule" 30 days are due, had 29 days, because, as Bābur records, the Moon was seen on the 29th.—In the other three instances of the reversed 30 and 29, one thing is common, *viz.* Muḥarram, Rajab, Zū'l-qa'da (as also Zū'l-hijja) are "honoured" months.—It would be interesting if some expert in this Musalmān matter would give the reasons dictating the changes from rule noted above as occurring in 935 AH.

*c. Varia.*

(1) On f. 367 Saturday is entered as the 1st day of Sha'bān and Wednesday as the 4th, but on f. 368*b* stands Wednesday 5th, as suits the serial dating. If the mistake be not a mere slip, it may be due to confusion of hours, the ceremony chronicled being accomplished on the eve of the 5th, Anglicé, after sunset on the 4th.

(2) A fragment only survives of the record of Zū'l-hijja 935 AH. It contains a date, Thursday 7th, and mentions a Feast which will be that of the 'Īdu'l-kabīr on the 10th (Sunday). Working on from this to the first-mentioned day of 936 AH. *viz.* Tuesday, Muḥarram 3rd, the month (which is the second of a pair having 29 and 30 days) is seen to have 30 days and so to fit on to 936 AH. The series is Sunday 10th, 17th, 24th (Sat. 30th) Sunday 1st, Tuesday 3rd.

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Two clerical errors of mine in dates connecting with this Appendix are corrected here:—(1) On p. 614 n. 5, for Oct. 2nd read Oct. 3rd ; (2) on p. 619 penultimate line of the text, for Nov. 28th read Nov. 8th.

### T.—ON L:KNŪ (LAKHNAU) AND L:KNŪR (LAKHNŪR, NOW SHĀHĀBĀD IN RĀMPŪR).

ONE or other of the above-mentioned names occurs eight times in the *Bābur-nāma* (s.a. 932, 934, 935 AH.), some instances being shown by their context to represent Lakhnau in Oudh, others inferentially and by the verbal agreement of the Ḥaidarābād Codex and Kehr's Codex to stand for Lakhnūr (now Shāhābād in Rāmpūr). It is necessary to reconsider the identification of those not decided by their context, both because there is so much variation in the copies of the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation that they give no verbal help, and because Mr. Erskine and M. de Courteille are in agreement about them and took the whole eight to represent Lakhnau. This they did on different grounds, but in each case their agreement has behind it a defective textual basis.—Mr. Erskine, as is well known, translated the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian text without access to the original Turkī but, if he had had the Elphinstone Codex when translating, it would have given him no help because all the eight instances occur on folios not preserved by that codex. His only sources were not-first-rate Persian MSS. in which he found casual variation from terminal *nū* to *nūr*, which latter form may have been read by him as *nūū* (whence perhaps the old Anglo-Indian transliteration he uses, Luknow).<sup>1</sup>—M. de Courteille's position is different ; his uniform *Lakhnau* obeyed the same uniformity in his source the Kāsān Imprint, and would appear to him the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Index s.n. Dalmau and Bangarmau for the termination in double *ū*.

more assured for the concurrence of the *Memoirs*. His textual basis, however, for these words is Dr. Ilminsky's and not Kehr's. No doubt the uniform *Lakhnū* of the Kāsān Imprint is the result of Dr. Ilminsky's uncertainty as to the accuracy of his single Turkī archetype [Kehr's MS.], and also of his acceptance of Mr. Erskine's uniform *Luknow*.<sup>1</sup>—Since the Ḥaidarābād Codex became available and its collation with Kehr's Codex has been made, a better basis for distinguishing between the L:knū and L:knūr of the Persian MSS. has been obtained.<sup>2</sup> The results of the collation are entered in the following table, together with what is found in the Kāsān Imprint and the *Memoirs*. [N.B. The two sets of bracketed instances refer each to one place; the asterisks show where Ilminsky varies from Kehr.]

	<i>Ḥai. MS.</i>	<i>Kehr's MS.</i>	<i>Kāsān Imprint.</i>	<i>Memoirs.</i>
1. {f. 278 <i>b</i>	. . L:knūr . .	L:knū . .	L:knū, p. 361 . .	Luknow.
2. {f. 338	. . L:knū . .	„ . .	„ p. 437 . .	„
3. f. 292 <i>b</i>	. . L:knūr . .	L:knūr . .	„ p. 379* . .	not entered.
4. f. 329	. . L:knūr . .	L:knūr . .	„ p. 362* . .	Luknow.
5. f. 334	. . L:knū . .	L:knū . .	„ p. 432* . .	„
6. {f. 376	. . L:knū . .	L:knūr . .	„ p. 486* . .	„
7. {f. 376 <i>b</i>	. . L:knūr . .	„ . .	„ p. 487* . .	„
8. {f. 377 <i>b</i>	. . L:knū . .	„ . .	„ p. 488* . .	„

The following notes give some grounds for accepting the names as the two Turkī codices agree in giving them :—

The first and second instances of the above table, those of the Ḥai. Codex f. 278*b* and f. 338, are shown by their context to represent Lakhnau.

The third (f. 292*b*) is an item of Bābur's Revenue List. The Turkī codices are supported by B.M. Or. 1999, which is a direct copy of Shaikh Zain's autograph *Ṭābaqāt-i-bāburī*, all three having L:knūr. Kehr's MS. and Or. 1999 are descendants of the second degree from the original List; that the Ḥai. Codex is a direct copy is suggested by its pseudo-tabular arrangement

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ilminsky says of the Leyden & Erskine *Memoirs of Bābur* that it was a constant and indispensable help.

<sup>2</sup> My examination of Kehr's Codex has been made practicable by the courtesy of the Russian Foreign Office in lending it for my use, under the charge of the Librarian of the India Office, Dr. F. W. Thomas.—It should be observed that in this Codex the Hindūstān Section contains the purely Turkī text found in the Ḥaidarābād Codex (cf. JRAS. 1908, p. 78).

of the various items.—An important consideration supporting *L:knür*, is that the List is in Persian and may reasonably be accepted as the one furnished officially for the Pādshāh's information when he was writing his account of Hindūstān (cf. Appendix P, p. liv). This official character disassociates it from any such doubtful spelling by the foreign Pādshāh as cannot but suggest itself when the variants of *e.g.* Dalmau and Bangarmau are considered. L:knür is what three persons copying independently read in the official List, and so set down that careful scribes *i.e.* Kehr and 'Abdu'l-lāh (App. P) again wrote L:knür.<sup>1</sup>—Another circumstance favouring L:knür (Lakhnür) is that the place assigned to it in the List is its geographical one between Saṃbhal and Khairābād.—Something for [or perhaps against] accepting Lakhnür as the *sarkār* of the List may be known in local records or traditions. It had been an important place, and later on it paid a large revenue to Akbar [as part of Saṃbhal].—It appears to have been worth the attention of Bīban *Jalwānī* (f. 329).—Another place is associated with L:knür in the Revenue List, the forms of which are open to a considerable number of interpretations besides that of Baksar shown *in loco* on p. 521. Only those well acquainted with the United Provinces or their bye-gone history can offer useful suggestion about it. Maps show a "Madkar" 6m. south of old Lakhnür; there are in the United Provinces two Baksars and as many other Lakhnürs (none however being so suitable as what is now Shāhābād). Perhaps in the archives of some old families there may be help found to interpret the entry *L:knür u B:ks:r* (var.), a conjecture the less improbable that the *Gazetteer of the Province of Oude* (ii, 58) mentions a *farmān* of Bābur Pādshāh's dated 1527 AD. and upholding a grant to Shaikh Qāzī of Bīlgrām.

The fourth instance (f. 329) is fairly confirmed as Lakhnür by its context, *viz.* an officer received the district of Badāyūn from the Pādshāh and was sent against Bīban who had laid siege to L:knür on which Badāyūn bordered.—At the time Lakhnau may have been held from Bābur by Shaikh Bāyazīd

<sup>1</sup> It may indicate that the List was not copied by Bābur but lay loose with his papers, that it is not with the Elphinstone Codex, and is not with the 'Abdu'r-raḥīm Persian translation made from a manuscript of that same annotated line.

*Farmūlī* in conjunction with Aūd. Its estates are recorded as still in Farmūlī possession, that of the widow of "Kala Pahār" *Farmūlī*.—(See *infra*.)

The fifth instance (f.334) connects with Aūd (Oudh) because royal troops abandoning the place L:knū were those who had been sent against Shaikh Bāyazīd in Aūd.

The remaining three instances (f.376, f.376*b*, f.377*b*) appear to concern one place, to which Bīban and Bāyazīd were rumoured to intend going, which they captured and abandoned. As the table of variants shows, Kehr's MS. reads Lakhnūr in all three places, the Hai. MS. once only, varying from itself as it does in Nos. 1 and 2.—A circumstance supporting *Lakhnūr* is that one of the messengers sent to Bābur with details of the capture was the son of Shāh Muḥ. *Dīwāna* whose record associates him rather with Badakhshān, and with Humāyūn and Saṃbhal [perhaps with Lakhnūr itself] than with Bābur's own army.—Supplementing my notes on these three instances, much could be said in favour of reading Lakhnūr, about time and distance done by the messengers and by 'Abdu'l-lah *kitābdār*, on his way to Saṃbhal and passing near Lakhnūr; much too about the various rumours and Bābur's immediate counter-action. But to go into it fully would need lengthy treatment which the historical unimportance of the little problem appears not to demand.—Against taking the place to be Lakhnau there are the considerations (a) that Lakhnūr was the safer harbourage for the Rains and less near the westward march of the royal troops returning from the battle of the Goghrā; (b) that the fort of Lakhnau was the renowned old Machchi-bawan (cf. *Gazetteer of the Province of Oude*, 3 vols., 1877, ii, 366).—So far as I have been able to fit dates and transactions together, there seems no reason why the two Afghāns should not have gone to Lakhnūr, have crossed the Ganges near it, dropped down south [perhaps even intending to recross at Dalmau] with the intention of getting back to the Farmūlīs and Jalwānīs perhaps in Sārwar, perhaps elsewhere to Bāyazīd's brother Ma'rūf.

## U.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON BĀBUR'S MOSQUE IN AJODHYA (OUDH).

THANKS to the kind response made by the Deputy-Commissioner of Fyzābād to my husband's enquiry about two inscriptions mentioned by several Gazetteers as still existing on "Bābur's Mosque" in Oudh, I am able to quote copies of both.<sup>1</sup>

a. The inscription inside the Mosque is as follows :—

۱. بفرموده شاه بابر که عدلش \* بنایست تا کاخ گردون ملاق  
 ۲. بنا کرد این مہبط قدسیان \* امیر سعادت نشان میر باقی  
 ۳. بود خیر باقی چو سال بنایش \* عیان شد کہ گفتم بود خیر باقی

1. *Ba farmūda-i-Shāh Bābur ki 'ādilash*

*Banā'ist tā kākh-i-gardūn mulāqī,*

2. *Banā kard īn muhbiṭ-i-qudsiyān*

*Amīr-i-sa'adat-nishān Mīr Bāqī*

3. *Bavad khair bāqī! chū sāl-i-banā'ish*

*'Iyān shud ki guftam,—Bavad khair bāqī (935).*

The translation and explanation of the above, manifestly made by a Musalmān and as such having special value, are as follows :—<sup>2</sup>

1. By the command of the Emperor Bābur whose justice is an edifice reaching up to the very height of the heavens,

2. The good-hearted Mīr Bāqī built this alighting-place of angels ;<sup>3</sup>

3. *Bavad khair bāqī!* (May this goodness last for ever!)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *in loco* p. 656, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A few slight changes in the turn of expressions have been made for clearness sake.

<sup>3</sup> Index s.n. Mīr Bāqī of Tāshkīnt. Perhaps a better epithet for *sa'adat-nishān* than "good-hearted" would be one implying his good fortune in being designated to build a mosque on the site of the ancient Hīndū temple.

<sup>4</sup> There is a play here on Bāqī's name ; perhaps a good wish is expressed for his prosperity together with one for the long permanence of the sacred building *khair* (*khairat*).



The year of building it was made clear likewise when I said, *Buvad khair bāqī* (=935).<sup>1</sup>

The explanation of this is :—

1st couplet :—The poet begins by praising the Emperor Bābur under whose orders the mosque was erected. As justice is the (chief) virtue of kings, he naturally compares his (Bābur's) justice to a palace reaching up to the very heavens, signifying thereby that the fame of that justice had not only spread in the wide world but had gone up to the heavens.

2nd couplet :—In the second couplet, the poet tells who was entrusted with the work of construction. Mīr Bāqī was evidently some nobleman of distinction at Bābur's Court.—The noble height, the pure religious atmosphere, and the scrupulous cleanliness and neatness of the mosque are beautifully suggested by saying that it was to be the abode of angels.

3rd couplet :—The third couplet begins and ends with the expression *Buvad khair bāqī*. The letters forming it by their numerical values represent the number 935, thus :—

$$\begin{array}{rcl} B = 2, v = 6, d = 4 & \text{total} & 12 \\ Kh = 600, ai = 10, r = 200 & ,, & 810 \\ B = 2, ā = 1, q = 100, z = 10 & ,, & 113 \\ \hline & \text{Total} & 935 \end{array}$$

The poet indirectly refers to a religious commandment (*dictum*?) of the Qorān that a man's good deeds live after his death, and signifies that this noble mosque is verily such a one.

b. The inscription outside the Mosque is as follows :—

۱. بنام انکه دانا هست اکبر \* که خالق جمله عالم لامکانی
۲. درود مصطفیٰ بعد از ستایش \* که سرور انبیائی دو جهانی
۳. فسانه در جهان بابر قلندر \* که شد در دورگیتی کامرانی

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the order for building the mosque was given during Bābur's stay in Aūd (Ajodhya) in 934AH. at which time he would be impressed by the dignity and sanctity of the ancient Hindū shrine it (at least in part) displaced, and like the obedient follower of Muḥammad he was in intolerance of another Faith, would regard the substitution of a temple by a mosque as dutiful and worthy.—The mosque was finished in 935AH. but no mention of its completion is in the *Bābur-nāma*. The diary for 935AH. has many minor *lacunae*; that of the year 934AH. has lost much matter, breaking off before where the account of Aūd might be looked for.

1. *Ba nām-i-anki dānā hast akbar*  
*Ki khāliq-i-jamla 'ālam lā-makānī*
2. *Durūd Muṣṭafā bā'd az sitāyish*  
*Ki sarwar-i-ambiyā dū jahānī*
3. *Fasāna dar jahān Bābur qalandar*  
*Ki shud dar daur gītī kāmrānī.*<sup>1</sup>

The explanation of the above is as follows :—

In the first couplet the poet praises God, in the second Muḥammad, in the third Bābur.—There is a peculiar literary beauty in the use of the word *lā-makānī* in the 1st couplet. The author hints that the mosque is meant to be the abode of God, although He has no fixed abiding-place.—In the first hemistich of the 3rd couplet the poet gives Bābur the appellation of *qalandar*, which means a perfect devotee, indifferent to all worldly pleasures. In the second hemistich he gives as the reason for his being so, that Bābur became and was known all the world over as a *qalandar*, because having become Emperor of India and having thus reached the summit of worldly success, he had nothing to wish for on this earth.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription is incomplete and the above is the plain interpretation which can be given to the couplets that are to hand. Attempts may be made to read further meaning into them but the language would not warrant it.

## V.—BĀBUR'S GARDENS IN AND NEAR KĀBUL.

THE following particulars about gardens made by Bābur in or near Kābul, are given in Muḥammad Amīr of Kazwīn's *Pādshāh-nāma* (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 585, p. 588).

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of this couplet is incomplete without the couplet that followed it and is (now) not legible.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta gives a different reason for Bābur's sobriquet of *qalandar*, namely, that he kept for himself none of the treasure he acquired in Hindūstān (Lith. ed. p. 206).

Ten gardens are mentioned as made :—the Shahr-ārā (Town-adorning) which when Shāh-i-jahān first visited Kābul in the 12th year of his reign (1048 AH.—1638 AD.) contained very fine plane-trees Bābur had planted, beautiful trees having magnificent trunks,<sup>1</sup> — the Chār-bāgh, — the Bāgh-i-jalau-khāna,<sup>2</sup> — the Aūrta-bāgh (Middle-garden),—the Şaurat-bāgh,—the Bāgh-i-mahtāb (Moonlight-garden),—the Bāgh-i-āhū-khāna (Garden-of-the-deer-house),—and three smaller ones. Round these gardens rough-cast walls were made (renewed ?) by Jahāngīr (1016 AH.).

The above list does not specify the garden Bābur made and selected for his burial ; this is described apart (*l.c.* p. 588) with details of its restoration and embellishment by Shāh-i-jahān the master-builder of his time, as follows :—

The burial-garden was 500 yards (*gaz*) long ; its ground was in 15 terraces, 30 yards apart (?). On the 15th terrace is the tomb of Ruqaiya Sulţān Begam<sup>3</sup> ; as a small marble platform (*chabūtra*) had been made near it by Jahāngīr's command, Shāh-i-jahān ordered (both) to be enclosed by a marble screen three yards high.—Bābur's tomb is on the 14th terrace. In accordance with his will, no building was erected over it, but Shāh-i-jahān built a small marble mosque on the terrace below.<sup>4</sup> It was begun in the 17th year (of Shāh-i-jahān's reign) and was finished in the 19th, after the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, at a cost of 30,000 *rūpīs*. It is admirably constructed. —From the 12th terrace running-water flows along the line (*rasta*) of the avenue ;<sup>5</sup> but its 12 water-falls, because not

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngīr who encamped in the Shahr-ārā-garden in Şafar 1016 AH. (May 1607 AD.) says it was made by Bābur's aunt, Abū-sa'īd's daughter Shahr-bānū (Rogers and Beveridge's *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* i, 106).

<sup>2</sup> A *jalau-khāna* might be where horse-head-gear, bridles and reins are kept, but *Ayin* 60 (A.-i.-A.) suggests there may be another interpretation.

<sup>3</sup> She was a daughter of Hind-āl, was a grand-daughter therefore of Bābur, was Akbar's first wife, and brought up Shāh-i-jahān. Jahāngīr mentions that she made her first pilgrimage to her father's tomb on the day he made his to Bābur's, Friday Şafar 26th 1016 AH. (June 12th 1607 AD.). She died *æt.* 84 on Jumāda I. 7th 1035 AH. (Jan. 25th 1626 AD.). Cf. *Tūzūk-i-jahāngīri*, Muḥ. Hādī's Supplement lith. ed. p. 401.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. H. H. Hayden's photograph of the mosque shows pinnacles and thus enables its corner to be identified in his second of the tomb itself.

<sup>5</sup> One of Daniel's drawings (which I hope to reproduce) illuminates this otherwise somewhat obscure passage, by showing the avenue, the borders of running-water and the little water-falls,—all reminding of Madeira.

constructed with cemented stone, had crumbled away and their charm was lost ; orders were given therefore to renew them entirely and lastingly, to make a small reservoir below each fall, and to finish with Kābul marble the edges of the channel and the waterfalls, and the borders of the reservoirs.—And on the 9th terrace there was to be a reservoir 11 × 11 yards, bordered with Kābul marble, and on the 10th terrace one 15 × 15, and at the entrance to the garden another 15 × 15, also with a marble border.—And there was to be a gateway adorned with gilded cupolas befitting that place, and beyond (*pešk*) the gateway a square station,<sup>1</sup> one side of which should be the garden-wall and the other three filled with cells ; that running-water should pass through the middle of it, so that the destitute and poor people who might gather there should eat their food in those cells, sheltered from the hardship of snow and rain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *chokī*, perhaps "shelter" ; see Hobson-Jobson *s.v.*

<sup>2</sup> If told with leisurely context, the story of the visits of Bābur's descendants to Kābul and of their pilgrimages to his tomb, could hardly fail to interest its readers.

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